

IN THESE TIMES



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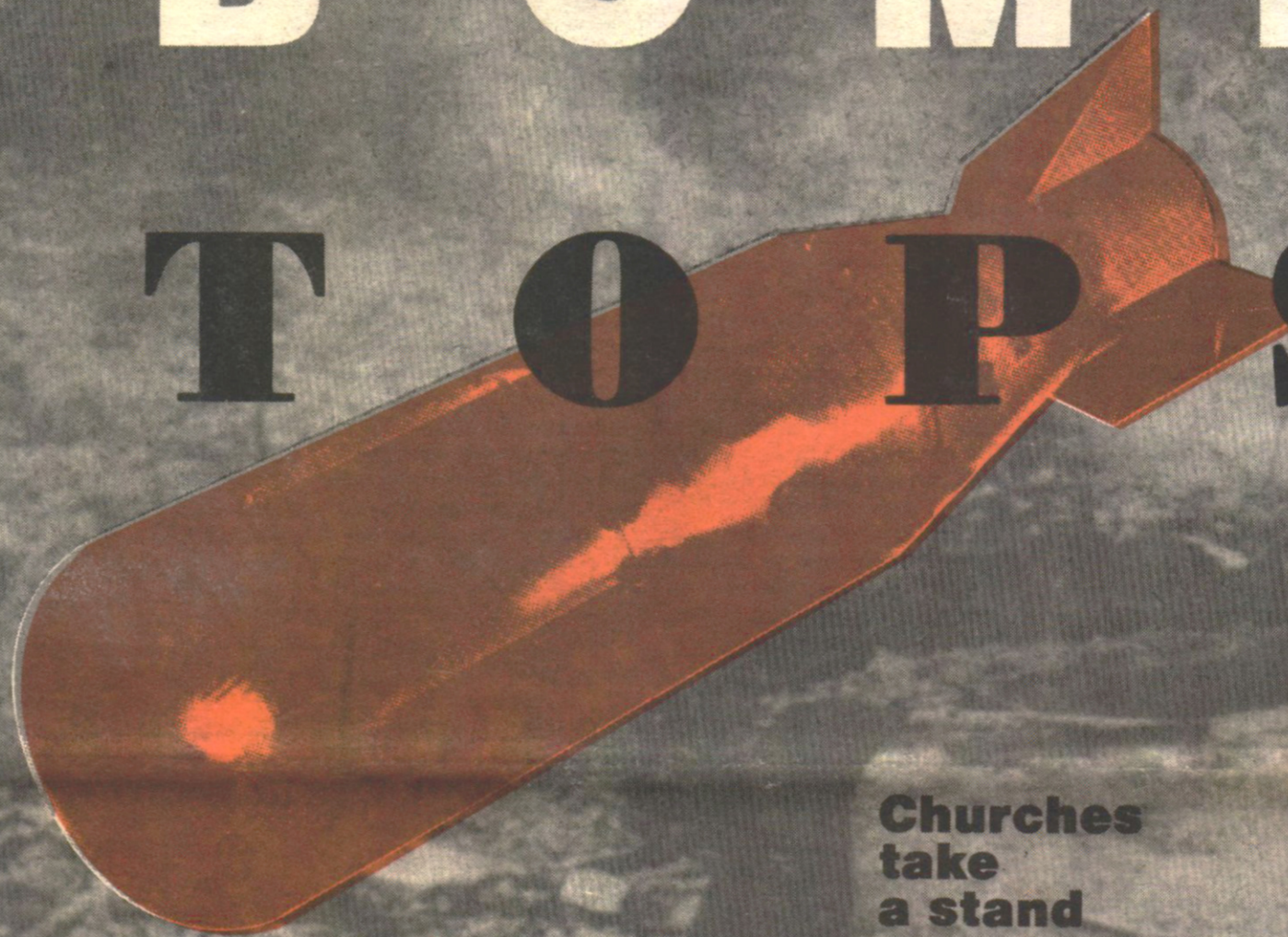
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THE INSIDE STORY



Paul Comstock

A big step toward worker ownership

By David Moberg

Cooperative worker ownership of business in the U.S. took several important steps forward in a recent agreement between A&P supermarkets and the United Food and Commercial Workers union in Philadelphia.

Troubled A&P, founded in 1859 and until a few years ago number one in volume, has slipped dramatically to fourth place, lost more than \$30 million last year and in the past year announced the closing of 400 of its 1,500 stores, including 70 in the greater Philadelphia metropolitan area.

Even before this collapse, Wendell Young, president of the 12,000-member United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1357, had decided to investigate possibilities of worker ownership. The local had earlier suffered losses as two food chains, a department store and other retail outlets had folded and local membership dropped.

Jay Guben, whose previous experience included both business and training in social change, became a consultant to the union on quality of work life programs and worker ownership. Young was interested, Guben says, "in the idea of worker ownership as a way to attract and develop within unions a source of jobs and opportunities. Even if a store is repurchased, workers get displaced. It's also harder for an older person to keep his job. The people who stay in the union get displaced, and the union can't do much to help when it doesn't have much control over jobs."

In November 1981, A&P closed a group of stores, then quickly raised the number to be shut down by March 20. Nearly 2,000 workers were affected. The union commissioned feasibility studies, retained consultants on worker ownership (including the Philadelphia Association for Cooperative Enterprise, PACE), and then this spring bid over \$4 million for the bloc of 17 Philadelphia stores that had been closed.

Starting early in March, the union called laid-off A&P workers to a series of educational meetings about cooperative ownership. At first 300 people showed up, and about half made pledges of \$5,000 each for a share in reopened stores. Eventually more than 600 people said they were willing to put up \$5,000, but the core of deeply interested people stabilized at 200.

Meanwhile, A&P, which had already spent \$29 million in closing the stores by one account, reconsidered its decision. The corporation, now over half owned by the German Tengelmann firm, proposed reopening a number of stores (from 20 to 31) under a new name: Super Fresh Food Centers.

The two UFCW locals involved (one based on the old retail clerks union, the other on the meatcutters) negotiated a new contract with Super Fresh that treated the store as a firm entering the market and thus gave it some concessions. Wages for the lowest paid clerk category will drop from \$10 to \$8 an hour, with similar concessions from higher-paid butchers. Vacations will be cut from four weeks to one week, and double-time on Sunday will drop to time-and-a-half. But current standards will be restored quickly—wages in two years, vacations a bit longer. Old pensions and other benefits will be protected in the agreement, which was ratified by a wide margin.

Worker-controlled investment.

The most original union proposal in the contract sets up an employee-controlled investment fund that will receive 1 percent of the new chain's gross sales each year. Some portion—40 percent is a figure frequently mentioned—will pay employee bonuses, but the remainder will be set aside for investment in worker-owned cooperatives in food and other retail business. In the first year that could yield \$1.5 million, then substantially more if Super Fresh takes off. But with even that sum, Guben says, the fund could borrow another \$9 to \$10 million annually, giving it a sizable chunk of capital under worker control.

The contract also gives workers the right of first refusal if A&P wants to sell or close any stores in the future. As PACE executive director Sherman Kreiner argues, this not only gives workers property rights in the stores (avoiding problems such as the refusal of U.S. Steel in Youngstown, Ohio, to sell to workers) but also averts a bidding war with other potential buyers that could drive up the price.

The union is now considering making the right of first refusal on physical facilities a part of other contracts so that the legal groundwork for worker ownership is laid far in advance of shutdown threats. This results, Kreiner says, "in an internal restructuring of the union to make employee ownership for members a proactive or initiating strategy rather than a reactive strategy."

The new contract also includes a quality of work life program administered by an outside consultant that will give workers in the Super Fresh stores more of a voice in the operation of the store. But it also provides training in self-management for a time when workers might own the store themselves.

Workers still retain the option to buy two of four former A&P stores, and it seems likely that they will open by September. If the number expands, through the investment fund or similar arrangements with other retailers under contract to the UFCW, then the stores will probably set up an umbrella organization to help with financing, technical assistance, advertising, purchasing and other affairs, following the model of one of the most successful cooperative experiments, the Mondragon network in Spain.

The biggest hurdle in recruiting A&P workers was their unfamiliarity with the co-op idea, says Mary Guben, who organized educational sessions. "But the biggest push is that you can run your own store better than A&P," she said. "They have the abilities and the

knowledge to make it work. They know the customers and their needs. Having control over how to stock a store will give them an edge in a competitive industry. That's the biggest thing—that they can control the destiny of their stores."

In recent years, especially in many older cities, independents have grown at the expense of chains, according to grocery consultant Joseph Gilchrist: "The independent can respond better to customer wants and needs and are generally more involved with the community." A&P had been particularly stodgy in its marketing strategy, which was largely dictated from national headquarters. Local stores did not have flexibility for competitive pricing and often could not stock specialty foods that a changing mix of people or ethnic tastes demanded. There were too many managers and heavy corporate overhead costs. As A&P withered, they laid off people by seniority, consequently raising their overall labor costs. In an industry that normally has profits of less than 1 percent of sales, the average wage bill is slightly under 10 percent of total revenue. A&P reportedly paid 15 percent.

Worker cooperative supporters think they will have all the advantages of the independents over the chains, but with added bonuses as a co-op. "It would be a business we're running ourselves," says Maryjean Barut, a cashier with A&P for 17 years. "We'd be doing our utmost to improve it. This would improve business, improve the worker's feelings about himself and improve the quality of work. If a worker is treated as an intelligent person, there will be less stress and more incentive. Stress tires out the working man and woman."

One owner, one vote.

The workers cooperatives, unlike most Employee Stock Ownership Plans, will be directly governed by worker-owners with one vote each. The union will still represent workers, but will not own the stores. Although there will be some of the usual managerial division of labor, workers will be more involved in such decisions, and there will be fewer supervisors. Any worker who has difficulty raising the \$5,000 membership fee can get help through the local's credit union or apply for payroll deduction financing. When an employee leaves, he or she will receive the \$5,000 plus a timed repayment of accumulated profits.

Despite the enthusiasm to expand this new departure in Philadelphia, national union spokesperson Walt Davis doubted that the pattern would be repeated in other areas. Many chains are quite healthy, and contracts, in any case, are negotiated locally. The UFCW rejected an April bid by A&P for across-the-nation concessions. Although PACE reports some interest from supermarket workers in a couple of other areas, in the Chicago metropolitan area, where A&P closed 72 stores, affecting 3,500 people, the union has shown no interest in worker ownership but is concentrating on employment counseling and job retraining.

"The American people need a lot more education," worker ownership advocate Barut says. "At a time when we're approaching 10 percent unemployment, many people are so depressed. They don't know that somewhere out there is help."

Relax, it's summer!

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IN THESE TIMES

Church groups preach peace

By Robert McClory

CHICAGO

"IT WOULD BE A DIVINE IRONY if an evil as great as the prospect of nuclear war would become an occasion for the renewal of the church. Yet that seems to be exactly what is happening."

So declares Jim Wallis, a leader of Sojourners, the Washington, D.C., based Evangelistic community. And there is considerable evidence that Wallis' view is an accurate assessment. For the great tide of opposition to nuclear arms that has been building in the U.S. for almost two years has its deepest roots in the churches—not just in the traditional peace groups like the Quakers and the Mennonites, but in the mainline religious bodies, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, which generally recoil from bold confrontation with civil authority.

Indeed, one can sense among U.S. church leaders a kind of heady euphoria, a satisfaction that for once the churches and their members are on the cutting edge of an important issue and are not being dragged along as usual, kicking and screaming against the current of history. The threat of the bomb has done more to halt internal turmoil and bring disparate denominations together than all the board meetings and ecumenical dialogues of the past 20 years. Some examples:

- In Philadelphia, more than 20,000 persons gathered last March for an Interfaith Witness to Stop the Nuclear Arms Race. The event was endorsed and planned by 12 major church groups and featured a powerful antinuclear talk by Philadelphia's Cardinal John Krol, a rigid conservative on most matters.

- In Memphis, Tenn., Catholics and Protestants recently opened the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, which is sponsoring conferences on the arms race and its negative impact on the economy of the South.

- In St. Louis, church leaders jointly inaugurated and are coordinating the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, which is largely responsible for legislative bodies in dozens of states and hundreds of cities going on record for bilateral disarmament during the past 18 months.

And when a vast throng converges on the United Nations headquarters in New York on June 12 to urge a weapons freeze, church people from every corner of the country will be in the vanguard. There can be little doubt that President Reagan's recent tentative softening of his hardline defense posture was prompted in some part by his canny realization that a message is coming through from the heartland.

How did it happen? Why did the churches suddenly and with near unanimity make this single issue their number one priority? Not many years ago the U.S. military had its most powerful ally in Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York. American church leaders regarded communism as the ultimate evil, and middle-American churchgoers accepted as a truism that one is "better dead than red."

To be sure, there were a few pacifist and anti-military organizations around—like the Catholic Worker Movement, the American Friends Service Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned. But they were on the fringes: Prophetic voices out in the desert with little influence on either the hierarchy or the rank and file.

The change began during the Vietnam war, especially with the powerful witness of the Berrigan brothers. For the first time mainline churches opened their facilities to draft counselors and anti-war speakers. For the first time too many grassroots faithful began to doubt that



(Above) Catholic Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, and (right) Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle, Wash.

God and American always and everywhere shared common goals.

Disillusionment reached a new level in 1981, and some observers apportion equal credit to the churches' surprising new restlessness to Ronald Reagan and the Holy Spirit. The president's call for a military buildup combined with his slashing of social welfare programs alienated that substantial segment of the faithful that views concern for the poor as a hallmark of religion. At the same time, even the more hawkish churchgoers were becoming alarmed at the nuclear overkill capability on both sides. It was increasingly more difficult to reconcile the direction in which the world powers were moving with the message of the Bible, whether interpreted according to liberal or fundamentalist scholars.

This awakening in the pews might have been shortlived, however, if it were not for a sustained, authoritative intervention from leaders at the top. The stage was prepared when Pope John Paul II in his trip to Hiroshima, Japan, in early 1981 called out, "Do not kill! Do not prepare destruction and extermination!"

The first genuine U.S. shockwave was felt in June of last year when Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, of Seattle, Wash., speaking before a Lutheran convention, called for unilateral nuclear disarmament by the U.S. and urged all Christians to withhold half their federal income taxes as a protest of the arms race. "Some would call what I am doing civil disobedience," he said. "I prefer to see it as obedience to God." (See profile on page 9.)

Instead of being shunned as a kook or an embarrassment to the church, Hunthausen found himself during the following months awash in hierarchical support as bishop after bishop climbed aboard the antinuclear bandwagon. Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, whose territory includes the Pantex plant

where nuclear bombs are assembled, suggested Christians working there should quit their jobs. Archbishop John R. Roach of Minneapolis, the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, urged his peers to "say no" to the "nuclear madness." And archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco, an influential churchman, said religious leaders are obliged to "sustain and encourage" that "deep stirring in the soul of society" emerging in the antinuclear movement.

Not all bishops have felt constrained to follow Hunthausen all the way, but by early May, 135 (about 40 percent of the Catholic hierarchy) had formally signed a statement urging an immediate bilateral weapons freeze. And the Catholic bishops next November will make a major statement on nuclear war, which insiders claim could be "a real shocker."

Meanwhile, the National Council of Churches, representing 40 million Protestants, recently endorsed a freeze statement similar to that signed by the Catholic bishops. And the American Baptist Churches, with 1.6 million members, declared that "the very presence of nuclear weapons and our willingness to use them is a direct affront to our Christian beliefs."

The convergence of church judgment from both above and below has provided the impetus for further statements and actions on a variety of fronts. The National Council of Catholic Women, generally a conservative group, approved a resolution to "work tirelessly for disarmament and the abolition of all nuclear weapons." The Catholic Family Service of Amarillo launched a campaign to help Pantex workers find other jobs, which resulted in the agency being stripped of its funding from United Way of Amarillo. A Catholic parish council in Ames, Iowa, rejected an Internal Revenue Service demand that it garnish the wages of a lay minister at the parish who is refusing to

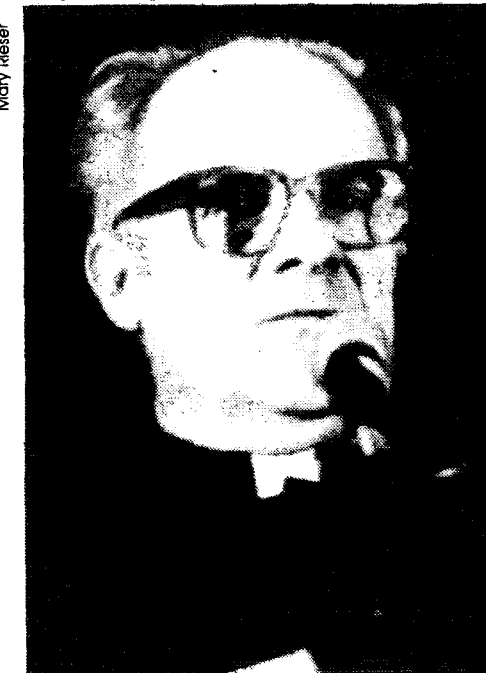
pay his own income taxes as a protest. Impressed with the churches' outspoken stance, a billboard magnate in Chicago turned over the use of several signs at major intersections to pro-peace organizations.

Reports are surfacing of service men refusing on religious grounds to participate in nuclear training programs. The U.S. membership of Pax Christi, an international association promoting non-violence, has doubled to 5,000 in the last two years. And parishes, church related organizations and religiously affiliated schools and colleges are sponsoring seminars, workshops and speakers on the arms race as never before.

Much of this feverish activity is accompanied by a sense of urgency and a missionary zeal that has been missing except in the fundamentalist sects in recent years. Writing in the *National Catholic Reporter*, Charles Kinzie, a former Presbyterian minister, paints a stark picture: "Much more rapidly than many thought possible, the Catholic church in the U.S. is crossing the boundary into the most severe and decisive period in its history. In fact, if we do not read correctly the signs of the times, this will be the last historical epoch of the church. We have entered the end time, the era of crucial judgment. Like the Catholic church in Germany half a century ago, we have entered an era of historical testing...."

The backlash.

Such absolute certitude has, of course, aroused some opposition within the churches. Convinced as always that communism is the anti-Christ, extreme fundamentalists, especially Moral Majority advocates, remain fiercely opposed to anything that could lessen U.S. capability to wipe out sworn enemies. Other more sophisticated critics accuse church leaders of hopeless naivete. "The bishops say they want peace," argues Michael Nov-



ak, a Catholic philosopher and resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. "Yet their new teaching is likely to lead to war.... No bishop has been elected to determine military strategy or to conduct experiments in moral reasoning."

The suddenness of the peace initiative is bound to create confusion and produce some backlash. After all, basic changes in the churches usually develop over centuries, not within two years. Nevertheless, it would be rash to regard the present thrust as a passing fad—not when the military budget will hit \$214 billion this fiscal year (a 24 percent rise over two years ago), not when cuts in funding to education, housing and social welfare programs are continuing unabated, not when the peril of mutual nuclear annihilation remains constant.

In such a tense atmosphere, the churches will feel constrained to cry out. There is in the Judeo-Christian tradition "a unilateral dimension," says David McReynolds, a leader of the New York-based War Resisters League, "a willingness to risk much in the cause of love. Thou shalt not kill was not, after all, meant as a conditional freeze on murder."

Robert McClory is a staff writer for the *National Catholic Reporter* and the *Chicago Reader*.

INSHORT

To cover or to cover up?

The Committee to Protect Journalists, a New York-based group founded last year, has called on the U.S. to "lend all possible assistance" to the Dutch government as it investigates the deaths of four Dutch journalists in El Salvador (*In These Times*, March 31). The committee recently sent a letter to 650 American journalists and human rights groups, urging that news organizations publicize the mounting evidence that contradicts the official Salvadoran account of the March 17 incident. Among the little-known documents is the Dutch government's interim report on the killings, issued April 14, which found parts of the Salvadoran version "unbelievable and contestable." Even less media attention, the letter notes, has been paid to a major new piece of evidence—testimony from a Salvadoran guerrilla believed to be the sole survivor of the attack. At a May 6 press conference in Holland, the guerrilla said that Salvadoran troops had been waiting for the Dutch group and opened fire as soon as the journalists came into range.

The committee also accuses news organizations of devoting little coverage to the U.S.' own investigation of the killings. Just 48 hours after the event, basing its statement on facts hastily gathered by the U.S. embassy in El Salvador, the White House said it had no information to contradict the armed forces' report. (The U.S. embassy's report has not yet been made public.) Then an April 15 article in the *Washington Post* reported the claim by a Foreign Ministry source in the Hague that "the U.S. investigation was not 'thorough'" and that the U.S. embassy had refused to help Dutch investigators gain access to soldiers and military advisors in El Salvador.

Cables or letters demanding U.S. support for the Dutch government's continuing investigation may be directed to Lawrence Eagleburger, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Stop the start

Last month, by an overall margin of two-to-one, voters in three Pennsylvania counties rejected the idea of restarting Three Mile Island's undamaged Unit I reactor. Though both President Reagan and Gov. Richard Thornburgh thought the issue was "too complex" for voters to consider ("In Short," March 24), residents in Dauphin, Cumberland and Lebanon counties didn't see it that way. The nonbinding referendum, which may end up having little effect on the final decision, asked a simple question: "Do you favor the restart of TMI Unit I, which was not involved in the accident of March 28, 1979?" The answer was no.

"We think this is a great victory for central Pennsylvanians," said Kathy McCaughin, who chaired the non-euphemistic Bipartisan Committee to Vote No on the Restart of TMI Unit I. "People of the area have made their opinion clear to elected public officials and to the nuclear industry. We are the majority now—we can no longer be discounted as a handful of antinuclear activists."

UN or bust

In recent weeks, lots of people have doubtless been making preparations to arrive in New York for the start of the United Nations' Second Special Session on Disarmament. But it's unlikely that anyone got an earlier start on the trip than members of an international "World Peace March." Initiated by Nipponzan Myohoji, a Japanese Buddhist order, the march had already been through parts of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America when it began its U.S. swing last October. Walking six days a week at a pace of 15 to 20 miles a day, reports Ann Spanel, marchers have repeatedly called for a comprehensive program of disarmament during their stops in hundreds of American towns and cities. The World Peace March has participated in vigils at the Omaha headquarters of the Strategic Air Command; outside a nuclear missile silo near Wichita, Kan.; and at the Pantex nuclear-weapons assembly plant in Amarillo, Texas (see Shelly Kellman's article in this section). This summer, the group plans to build a "peace pagoda" on land adjacent to the Trident submarine base near Seattle.

UN officials are scheduled to greet the marchers in New York on June 7. For more information on the World Peace March, call (212) 864-2030.

Dirt cheap

With the EPA's blessing, *Forbes* reports, companies that want to spend less on cleanup can buy "pollution credits" from nearby firms. Example: Borden Chemical Co., a division of Borden Inc., recently paid the B.F. Goodrich Co. to let it put 25 tons of hydrocarbons into the air in Goodrich's name—at a reported annual cost of about \$2,500 per ton. If Borden had tried to clean up those hydrocarbons, says *Forbes*, it might have cost something like \$5,800 a ton. But now Borden's dirt becomes Goodrich's dirt; and since Goodrich is cleaner than the law requires, it doesn't have to clean up the stuff.

—Josh Kornbluth



If the government can't find enough undocumented residents by direct means (above), maybe new techniques are in order; see "The poll war in California."

United Way is trigger-happy

AMARILLO, TX—Support for the diocese-run Catholic Family Service here, which lost its United Way funding for 1982 because of its pro-disarmament activities, is pouring in from all over the country, according to Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo. "We are very, very pleased," Matthiesen said recently, noting that contributions had already replaced \$35,000 of the \$45,000 that was withdrawn.

United Way pulled out in March, after seven months of controversy at the diocese. It all began when Bishop Matthiesen wrote to all of his parishioners, urging those working at the nearby Pantex nuclear-weapons assembly plant to quit their jobs and "seek employment in peaceful pursuits." The bishop's missive caused an uproar in this conservative Bible Belt town, where Pantex employs 2,400. Typical was the response of Baptist pastor Winfred Moore: "I think it would be foolish if America were not prepared to do what has to be done to defeat [the communists]. If anyone's finger is on the trigger, I want it to be ours."

"People have told me to stay out of politics," the bishop replied, "but that same reasoning can be used to justify what happened in Nazi Germany." The family service backed him up, offering counseling services to Pantex workers reconsidering their involvement on the nuclear production line. In February, the agency announced that it could also offer financial help, through a "Solidarity Peace Fund," to Pantex workers who left the weapons plant without another job at hand.

This last step caused the United Way to withdraw—even though its annual contribution was earmarked for child abuse and pregnancy counseling programs that, in Matthiesen's words, had "absolutely nothing

to do with antiwar counseling." In the tense series of meetings that followed, the United Way demanded that the family service publicly rescind its peace-counseling offer; the agency refused.

The United Way told the press that it dumped the Catholic agency because it feared "a potential negative impact on present and future contributions." The funding organization receives up to \$150,000 a year from the weapons plant. —Shelly Kellman For more information on the Solidarity Peace Fund, write to the Diocesan Pastoral Center, Box 5644, Amarillo, TX 79107.

The poll war in California

SAN FRANCISCO—Less than a week after the government's "Operation Jobs" crackdown on undocumented workers (*In These Times*, May 12), civil rights groups here were in an uproar over a new attempt to uncover undocumented residents through use of the voter rolls.

The commotion over Operation Jobs hadn't yet died down when a local paper revealed that a new search for undocumented was underway. U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello had asked the district attorneys of nine northern California counties to provide him with the names of voters who requested bilingual ballots. The idea was to determine whether large numbers of

"resident alien non-citizens" had illegally registered to vote.

Civil rights groups immediately denounced the continuing probe. Henry Der, executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action, called the investigation "racist, discriminatory and designed to discourage participation among language-minority voters." Joaquin Avila, who had just arrived from San Antonio to become president of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in San Francisco, said, "I thought things like this only happened in Texas."

Russoniello denied the charges of racism. He argued that the target of his probe was not the non-citizen who registers to vote; on the contrary, Russoniello said, he assumed those people were innocent. He said that if there was a problem, it was with unscrupulous registrars who misled non-citizens into registering. But Russoniello had a hard time finding anyone who believed him. Local officials, state legislators and members of Congress were among those who criticized the investigation. Even one of Russoniello's aides, Assistant U.S.

PEDDLE TO THE PEOPLE: To show their support for the Nicaraguan government and for liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala, a group of European bicyclists take their message down a road in Copenhagen. Also among the numerous solidarity efforts in Europe, reports Ron Ridenour, is a "No to Intervention in Central America" bus tour, taking six weeks to wind its way through 13 countries.



Catherine Leroy/Gamma-Liaison

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

Attorney Amanda Metcalf, called the probe "outrageous, saddening, disheartening.... If people know that just by registering to vote they will become subjects of a federal investigation, they won't vote, whether they're American-born or not."

San Francisco registrar of voters Jay Patterson echoed the charge that the probe was discriminatory, "because it only asks for lists of Spanish and Chinese voters, and the majority of our foreign-born voters are from places other than China or Latin America."

The probe has had a noticeable effect on efforts to register minorities. Al Borvice, head of the San Francisco Latino Registration Project, said, "We've lost half of our [75] volunteers. People on the street have become very reluctant to register to vote."

Some people charged that the impetus for Russoniello's probe came from the White House, but the U.S. attorney insisted that "this investigation was initiated by me in this office." And the Justice Department has made sure to distance itself from Russoniello's actions.

The ACLU and MALDEF have filed suit in federal court, asking that the investigation be stopped. The suit charges that Russoniello is violating the California Privacy Clause, the provisions against harassment and intimidation of voters in the Voting Rights Act and the equal-protection clause of the Constitution.

—Paul Glickman

Diablo makes a connection

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CA—Bechtel Power Corp., engineer of half the nation's nuclear plants, has been asked to do emergency surgery on Pacific Gas and Electric's failing Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant.

The move comes in the wake of mounting criticism of PG&E's management of the Diablo project, which has already cost eight times more than was projected when it began in the mid-'60s. In recent months, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)—often accused of being in the business of licensing atomic plants rather than regulating them—has suspended the plant's test-li-

cense; cited the utility for lying in an official report; discovered nearly 150 design errors; dismissed the utility's handpicked design auditor because of potential conflicts of interest and suggested in published comments that PG&E has shown "arrogance" in dealing with federal officials and that "there is something basically wrong with the leadership" of the project.

The utility's decision to hire Bechtel to guide the project through a new round of modifications has, for the moment, stilled such criticism and even won cautious praise from NRC officials: "The commission has long relied on Bechtel as a troubleshooter. In the long run, however, Diablo opponents believe the firm's involvement will fuel the controversy over whether the plant can ever be made safe enough to run. As Richard DeYoung, the commission's chief of inspection and enforcement, has noted, Bechtel's record "is not lily-white." The company's past mistakes include putting a reactor in backwards (at SoCal Edison's San Onofre facility); it also built PG&E's now-mothballed plant in Humboldt, Calif.

Besides chipping away at the firm's reputation for technical expertise, plant foes say they will harp on what they believe to be a major reason for Bechtel's assistance—that PG&E expects the huge firm's close ties to the White House to come in handy during the difficult licensing proceedings expected in the future. (Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, for example, is a former top executive at Bechtel.)

But both PG&E and Bechtel bristle at this suggestion. Says Bechtel spokesman Larry Thomas: "That's ridiculous. We've been called in for technical reasons only. To suggest otherwise is to strike at the integrity of the NRC." NRC commissioner Victor Gilinsky says that the idea that Bechtel may function as a regulatory lobbyist is "speculation on somebody's part." But Gilinsky, who has recently emerged as the most consistent critic of PG&E among the five commissioners, notes that he has yet to study the "precise arrangement" between the two firms.

In its 15-year quest to put its expensive plant on line, PG&E has periodically relied on political connections. According to Joel Reynolds, attorney for Mothers for Peace, a San Luis Obispo group opposing the Diablo plant, "Throughout 1981—until the design errors were found in September—the White House was putting enormous pressure on the NRC to speed up the licensing."

A string of reports indicating widespread problems in the plant's design and a nearly complete breakdown in its quality-control program foiled such efforts. By this March, the picture looked bleak: PG&E's board chairman, Frederick W. Mielke, admitted that the utility was studying the financial impact of scrapping Diablo. Since Bechtel has come aboard, however, Mielke has expressed renewed optimism, saying it is "inconceivable to me that the plant will not go into operation."

—G. Pascal Zachary

Briefing: Disarming the business

As support for the disarmament movement mushrooms at the international level, some peace activists are bringing the issue into their own backyards. By zeroing in on contributions to the arms race in their hometowns, they have drawn a wide cross-section of people into the movement and applied community pressure to businesses and institutions involved in

One of the oldest of the locally targeted peace campaigns is Minneapolis-St. Paul's Honeywell Project, founded in 1968 to publicize the Honeywell Corporation's production of grisly anti-personnel weapons for use against Vietnamese villages. A series of demonstrations in the

and leaflets handed out at factory gates—to publicize the unstable boom-and-bust tendencies of an economy dependent on the military.

In Denver, Minneapolis, St. Louis and other cities, the concept of economic conversion has seemed dubious to many workers and union officials. Pentagon contracts, after all, are a proven means of livelihood while conversion proposals sometimes seem like pie-eyed pipedreams. To prove that peaceful conversion is practical as well as desirable,



McDonnell-Douglas

The St. Louis Economic Conversion Project is trying to redirect McDonnell-Douglas, maker of many war machines, into peaceful assembly.

nuclear-weapons production.

One successful community-based peace effort is the campaign against the Rocky Flats plant in Colorado, which recycles plutonium and radium for use in nuclear weapons. Since 1978 the installation, located midway between Denver and Boulder, has been the site of numerous civil disobedience actions and protests, involving up to 15,000 people.

Most Coloradans are now aware of the health risks posed by the plant, and a recent poll conducted by a Denver TV station says that a majority of them want Rocky Flats converted to a new use.

"Rocky Flats is Colorado's handle on the arms race," explained Chet Tshozewski of the American Friends Service Committee's Rocky Flats Project, one of several groups opposing the plant. "It's an excellent example of the risk of nuclear weapons. And by organizing on the community level around this issue we have changed the way some people look at the world. In the last few months, the focus has shifted from the local threat to the global threat."

But Rocky Flats also illustrates the chief shortcoming of locally centered organizing: Because its scope is limited, so are its effects. Under pressure to stop reprocessing nuclear wastes in Colorado, the Pentagon could simply shift the operation to some job-hungry place such as Oregon or Waterloo, Iowa.

corporation's hometown sparked protests at Honeywell facilities around the world and, according to project organizer Marv Davidov, pressured the corporation's beleaguered directors to join the chorus of business interests urging the Nixon administration to find a negotiated settlement to the war.

Still, 14 years later, 21 percent of Honeywell's business is defense-related, including MX missile contracts, research on laser weaponry, the design of missile-guidance systems and production of nuclear fuses. And after a period of dormancy in the late '70s, the Honeywell Project is still on the job. Each Wednesday 15 to 100 people gather at the Honeywell's Minneapolis headquarters to protest weapons production and urge a conversion of Honeywell's resources to peaceful pursuits.

In St. Louis, 14 percent of the local economy is dependent on military projects, especially on the Cruise missiles being designed by the McDonnell-Douglas corporation. That means any progress toward disarmament is a threat to the local workforce. This is the dilemma being tackled by the St. Louis Economic Conversion Project, which, with the help of a Ford Foundation grant, is studying the effects of the city's ties to the Pentagon. Using this research, the group is now trying—through public presentations, informational pickets

the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project in San Jose, Calif., has established several pilot projects. As the center of the booming microchip industry, San Jose's economy is benefiting from the Pentagon's growing interest in computerized methods of warfare. To convince the area's technical workers that an arms ban won't necessarily mean a pink slip, the conversion project is finding new applications for computer technology, such as a data system to help handicapped people overcome physical and social obstacles.

Confrontation is the approach favored by the Livermore Action Group, an offshoot of an economic conversion project aimed at the University of California's Livermore labs.

"We were getting frustrated—after five years, nothing had been accomplished," explains Ken Nightingale of the action group. "A lot of us were involved with the anti-nuclear-power movement, and the idea of direct action came to us while we were in jail after the protests at Diablo Canyon." On June 21, 1981, the group launched its first direct action—a blockade of the weapons-research lab by 1,000 protesters. That demonstration was followed by actions in February and March, resulting in the arrests of more than 200 people. And there were still more protests to come.

—Jay Walljasper



Ron Ridenour

IN THE NATION

DISARMAMENT

NY rally coalition heals itself

By Dave Lindorff

NEW YORK

DELEGATES TO THE UNITED Nations General Assembly's second special session on disarmament will scarcely have finished their introductory remarks when they will be greeted by one of the most massive demonstrations (weather permitting) in this state's history. On June 12, people from all over the U.S. and as far away as Japan

Disarmament Program decided to jointly sponsor the event. From the beginning, they wanted to form a rally coalition that would include groups spanning the ideological spectrum. (In fact, MOB was formed during the first UN special session on disarmament.) Yet no one anticipated the coalition would draw so many participants.

This event was not forged easily. Since January the rally leadership was torn—at one point actually splitting into two competing organizations—over the question of how to create a "broad coalition."

Prior to that time, organizers say there

to demand one-third representation on decision-making bodies and access to rally committee resources for organizing in minority communities. These demands made some of the less "radical" groups uneasy, and eventually discussion of even the most minor issues became part of a larger power struggle.

On March 8, several of the most "conservative" organizations (including AFSC, Clergy and Laity Concerned, District 65 of the United Auto Workers, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends of the Earth, the Freeze Campaign, Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199 and the Riverside Church Disarmament Campaign) broke away and announced that they had formed a "corporation" to run the event. This was the low point of rally organizing work, since not a single minority organization that had been actively working on rally planning was included.

The breakaway organizations had the resources to organize the rally themselves. But the remaining "rump" of the rally organization, calling themselves the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition (TWPPC) quickly called the New York City Parks Department and said that, as heirs to the original rally permit application filed in January, they expected to receive it. All the newly constituted June 12 Rally Committee, as the secessionists called themselves, could do was weigh in with a similar request.

These competing claims raised the specter that the city, whose mayor, Ed Koch, has been no friend of the peace movement, might not grant any permit for a rally or march. This, plus widespread feelings among groups like Mobil-

ization for Survival, War Resisters League and others that the so-called "corporate coup" had been unprincipled, led to a six-week effort to heal the rift.

Finally, the June 12 Rally Committee—many of whose leaders reportedly came under mounting pressure from their own memberships to back down—agreed to TWPPC demands and accepted all the ideas that had been approved back in January: condemnation of racism and intervention in third world countries to be included in rally literature, one-third minority control of decision-making bodies, one-third minority staffing and allocation of rally resources for organizing in third world communities. One tangible result of this last agreement is that feeder marches will now join the main march line at Dag Hammarskjolt Plaza from Harlem, El Barrio (Spanish Harlem) and black sections of Brooklyn.

It appears that the fears of more conservative peace groups were unjustified: Guillermo Ungo, head of the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador, will speak at the rally and Sen. Ted Kennedy will not. As rally preparations move forward, there has been no sign of declining interest in attending the march. In fact, crowd estimates are increasing.

At the same time, concern that the infighting will make future actions by the coalition difficult may also be exaggerated. All the groups are working together now, hoping to make the June 12 rally a resounding success.

Perhaps a lesson has been learned. Says Terry Provence, a rally staffer and national disarmament coordinator for AFSC, "I think the reason everything came together is everyone realized the degree of commitment required to bring off something like this." Like many of those who split from the coalition March 8, Provence now criticizes the decision. He said AFSC and the others had "felt that things had reached a logjam, and the only solution was to go it alone. That was a mistake."

Says WRL's Norma Becker, "The political lesson was that it is essential to build a movement that is multi-racial and cuts across class lines."

Dave Lindorff is a New York-based freelance journalist and a member of the Organizing Committee for a National Writers Union.



Anthony Stewart

The city permit to rally became the issue that forced factions to come to terms.

an will converge on Manhattan to demand two things: an end to the arms race and a budget that supports human needs.

Rally organizers, who say that new bus caravans are being formed daily, are predicting a turnout of up to a half million or more. Even the New York City police—whose estimates are notoriously low—say they expect more than 200,000 people. Whatever the actual number, a powerful message of encouragement will be delivered to the UN, which from June 7 through the end of the month will work to approve a program for disarmament.

The rally has been planned for almost a year. Organizing began when Mobilization for Survival, the War Resisters League (WRL) and the Riverside Church

was not much disagreement. But as the nuclear freeze campaign took off—thanks to Reagan's nuclear rhetoric—pressure mounted within the coalition to try and appeal to this new middle-American peace constituency.

Third world people's organizations and their white, far-left allies viewed the problem differently. They said that because the peace movement historically had been white and middle-class, they believed it was important to address the concerns of minorities and the poor in order to "broaden" the movement.

Some of the less "radical" peace and environmental groups, like Greenpeace, SANE and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), began to press for limiting the rally slogans to the issue of nuclear arms—though the UN special session on disarmament deals with all arms and with the problem of underdevelopment in the third world—and for keeping the slogans "even-handed." There was considerable resistance to arguments from minority political organizations that the U.S. role in El Salvador should be criticized.

As these differences became clear, the third world groups and their white far-left supporters within the coalition began

See you in, uh, the park

Both the march route and the site of the rally have been shifting like wind-blown sand, from Central Park to the United Nations. But this has not been the fault of rally organizers.

The shifts were the result of a dispute between city police and the Parks Department as well as a certain lack of support from the city for the idea of a peace rally. As one rally staffer commented, "The police didn't want us in the streets and the Parks Department didn't want us in the park. Basically, I'd say they both wanted us somewhere in Pennsylvania."

The original plans filed in January called for holding the rally in the Great Lawn of Central Park, which can easily accommodate 400,000 people. But Parks Commissioner Gordon Davis eventually balked, claiming that the narrow entrances to the park would lead to "human gridlock" among marchers. He also predicted that if people knew that well-known and popular entertainers were going to perform at the rally, fans would fill the lawn at dawn, leaving no space for the marchers when they got there.

Unwilling at such a late date to become bogged down in a struggle with the city, rally organizers accepted the city's unreasonable alternative: assembling marchers on both sides of the park and march them along two separate routes, to pile up along 42nd Street and First Avenue, which intersect at the United Nations. The problem with this idea was that by forcing people to assemble in a line away from the stage, which was to have been set up at the intersection, demonstrators

would not have been able to see the stage and would have had to resort to tuning in on their radios.

The Rally Committee tried to put a good face on a bad situation—and if June 12 is seasonably hot, it would have been bad for the people massed on the pavement—by saying it would be symbolically more appropriate to rally at the UN, and would give the media less opportunity to call it a "picnic" and downplay the significance of the event.

Fortunately for the organizers and marchers, the police ultimately came down on their side, not because of any political affinity but because of the difficulties of crowd control in such a situation. But the Parks Department was overruled on May 24, so Central Park will now be the rally site.

Rally organizers won another victory at the same time, when the city agreed to let the march assemble north of the UN and pass directly in front of it along First Avenue on the way to the park.

At the time of this writing, the march was scheduled to step off at 10 a.m. at Dag Hammarskjolt Plaza at 47th Street and begin reaching the park at 1 p.m., after moving west along 42nd Street and up Fifth Avenue. Marchers will hear speakers both as they pass a stage at the UN and at the rally itself, which will run from 1-6 p.m.

For more information about June 12, get in touch with your local peace group. Rally organizers say they need several thousand more volunteers to work as marshals. If you are interested, call (212) 460-8980.

—D.L.

CALIFORNIA

Voters face costly initiatives

By Thomas Brom & Louise Billotte

OAKLAND, CA

ONCE AGAIN THE CALIFORNIA state primary ballot this June is peppered with initiatives, including everything from crime and punishment to death and taxes. Howard Jarvis is back with a measure to index the state income tax, which will cost the state government \$230 million this year and \$445 in 1983. Paul Gann is back with the "Victims' Bill of Rights," a sweeping revision of the criminal justice system that will surely be challenged in the courts if it passes.

A referendum appears on a 1980 law approving the Peripheral Canal, a 43-mile addition to the State Water Project that will cost "in excess of \$3.1 billion plus unknown additional costs" (estimates of those costs range from \$5.4 billion to \$23 billion). Two more measures would abolish the gift and inheritance taxes, and a third would reduce income taxes. Together, these three would cost California another \$360 million. Not surprisingly, the governor and legislative leaders have been meeting in emergency session to consider how they can possibly balance next year's state budget if these measures pass.

The following report examines the two most controversial initiatives on the California ballot.

Peripheral Canal.

Democratic senatorial hopeful Gore Vidal says that since both he and front-runner Jerry Brown are middle-aged bachelors, voters should presume they are both virgins, and "may the more immaculate win."

But the June 8 California primary is no place for two virgins. It is dominated by Proposition 9, the Peripheral Canal measure that has turned into a byzantine \$3 million media campaign mixing equal parts of oil, water and cash. Brown sacrificed any claims to purity when he fathered the compromise legislation on the canal, signed into law in 1980 but immediately halted by the first successful referendum in California in 30 years. His father, former governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, first pushed the grandiose State Water Project (SWP) past the voters in 1960, saying at the time that the way to finance public works is to build the road halfway to town, then stick the taxpayers for the rest. But since the canal referendum qualified for the ballot, the younger Brown has been noticeably subdued in his support for the bill.

Because 60 percent of the voters in California live in the southern part of the state, the battle over Northern California water has focused there. And although support for the SWP has long been assumed in the dry Los Angeles basin, the most recent California poll shows that only a bare majority intend to vote for the canal. Statewide, opponents now have a plurality for the first time.

Opponents of the canal were given a huge boost in this strange political campaign when two of the state's largest growers, J.G. Boswell and Salyer Land Co., contributed over \$1 million to defeat the bill because they believe the environmental safeguards in it are too strong. The California Farm Bureau opposes the measure for the same reason. Yet the bill's strongest supporters include Chevron, Getty Oil, Shell Oil, Tenneco, Southern Pacific, Newhall Land and Farming and the Times-Mirror Corporation's Tejon Ranch—all of which own thousands of acres in the southern San Joaquin Valley where nearly two-thirds of the water would be used by growers.

This division among the growers—based on differences in ranch location, crops

and concern for the ultimate price of water if the canal is built—has given opponents of the SWP an unexpected opportunity to attack the underlying myths surrounding water use in California.

The Los Angeles basin, for instance, is not the biggest drain on Northern California water. More than 87 percent of the state's water supply is used by agriculture and fully half of that irrigates alfalfa and pasture for livestock. According to the Department of Water Resources—a principal supporter of the SWP—only 8.5 percent of the state's water goes to residential and commercial use.

Understanding the role of agribusiness is essential to unraveling the past 20 years of water politics in the state. Pat Brown's SWP is actually one of two giant water systems that travel from the Sacramento Delta down the Central Valley. The first, the Delta-Mendota canal, was built with federal funds and therefore is subject to the 1902 Reclamation Act that limits the amount of land qualifying for cheap water. The second is the California Aqueduct, paralleling the federal canal but financed with state funds to neatly avoid federal law. Since the project was first proposed in 1947, the SWP had among its principal supporters large San Joaquin Valley growers who wanted cheap water for unlimited acreage.

Brown, Sr. completed the SWP in stages, invariably underestimating costs and neglecting to include projections for inflation and interest. The Peripheral Canal is the so-called "missing link" in the state project, the 43-mile shunt around the Delta that will permit as much as 15 million more acre-feet of water to be sent south.

To his credit, Brown, Jr. tried to put together a legislative compromise that would satisfy environmentalists concerned about the wild rivers of Northern California, water quality in the Delta and the flow of fresh water into San Francisco Bay. That was Senate Bill 200, passed with great difficulty in 1980 and heralded as a victory for the governor. Before the year was out, however, a coalition of environmentalists and Delta growers petitioned for a referendum on the law.

Phil LeVeen, a water economist and director of Public Interest Economics West, agrees with proponents of the canal who believe that for all its faults, SB 200 is probably the best bill the governor could have gotten out of the legislature. "But that doesn't make it worth voting for," he says. "The costs are out of all proportion to the projected benefits—even to the eight corporations who own 85 percent of the land in Kern County and stand to gain most from this bill."

LeVeen believes the best alternative to more water projects—in California and

elsewhere in the western U.S.—is groundwater management, an alternative he says is rarely talked about because growers can't agree on who owns the water under the land. A second water initiative has already qualified for the November ballot that would require water conservation, reclamation and groundwater management throughout California, plus a new water pricing system that would force growers to end wasteful irrigation practices. The entire agribusiness bureaucracy will be allied against it.

"The trouble with all this," LeVeen adds, "is trying to make complex state policy by initiative. The people are being asked to make up for the failure of the legislature to plan adequately. It's a hell of a way to run a state."

Proposition 8.

Both proponents and opponents of Proposition 8, an unwieldy proposal to amend the California constitution and get tough with criminals, believe it is a sure winner. And to the extent that California politics are, or at least become, national politics, passage of Proposition 8 could set a precedent for the rest of the country.

This latest ballot initiative, a lengthy and confusing proposal, was authored by the same Paul Gann who brought California residents Proposition 13. It has been called by Berkeley city councilmember Florence MacDonald "the state version of military spending." Like the Reagan defense budget, it represents a shift of emphasis in public spending from social services to defense of private property. Like Proposition 13, it represents an attack on basic social institutions. And like

Among other things, passage of Proposition 8 would reduce instances where plea bargaining is permitted and would eliminate the right to bail even in misdemeanor offenses, making provisions for bail solely dependent on the discretion of individual judges. It would require that the use of the "exclusionary rule" (which denies use in trials of evidence gathered illegally) conform to the federal statutes rather than precedents set by the more liberal California Supreme Court. It would order stiffer penalties for more crimes and mandate the establishment of a number of different and additional hearing processes for restitution, sentencing and parole.

And it would provide that all students have the "inalienable right" to attend schools that are "safe, secure and peaceable." Assembly member Terry Goggins, chair of the Assembly Criminal Justice Committee, explained the provision this way: "It could give courts unprecedented authority over public schools by empowering them to do whatever is necessary to assure 'peaceful campuses.'"

The authors of Proposition 8, foreseeing that some or many of the initiative's provisions would be struck down in court, have included a severability clause stating that if any section or sections are declared invalid the others shall remain.

Opponents charge that the measure would have as severe an effect on public finance as Proposition 13 did. They also claim that the reduction in instances of plea bargaining—it would be allowed only when the prosecution has no material witness or enough evidence otherwise to convict—and the institution of new hearing processes could increase court costs immeasurably, and would also make courts less accessible for civil proceedings since criminal proceedings are always given first priority. The Alameda County Public Defender's office has estimated that in that county alone 50 new superior courts would have to be created at state expense while the county would have to foot the bill for additional district

State leaders have met to consider how they can balance next year's budget if these measures pass.

Proposition 13, it is a response by wily politicians to the public's perceptions and frustrations about the inadequacy of these institutions.

According to a poll commissioned by TV station KABC in Los Angeles, 88 percent of California voters support Proposition 8, 7 percent oppose it outright and 5 percent are undecided. Much of the California legal establishment opposes it, including the state Bar Association, the San Francisco Bar Association, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Association of Public Defenders. Its supporters include the California State Sheriff's Association, most of the state's peace officers association and the Association of District Attorneys.

attorneys, deputy sheriffs and clerks.

In addition to increased court costs, the state department of corrections has estimated that the capital outlay needed for increased prison construction required to meet the provisions of the initiative would amount to nearly all the funds allocated in a \$495 million prison construction bond voters are also expected to approve this June. And this figure does not include the approximately \$15,000 a year it costs to house each additional inmate.

The fiscal impact of the safe schools provision is the most difficult to estimate, but it seems probable that what monies are left for public education after Proposition 13 and Ronald Reagan have been

Continued on page 9



PROFILES

Five emerging leaders in the movement for disarmament



Jo and Nick Seidita came up with the idea for the California Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze ballot initiative.

Following are profiles of five people helping to lead the fight for nuclear disarmament. Their diversity is representative of the movement as a whole.

Jo and Nick Seidita

By Gina Lobaco

BY ANY STANDARD, NICK AND Jo Seidita have every right to be proud of their offspring, the California Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze ballot initiative. With \$2,900 in seed money from their church, the Sepulveda Unitarian Universalist Society in Los Angeles' San Fernando Valley, they began what is reckoned to be the most outstanding success in the antinuclear movement.

In California, initiatives are eligible for statewide ballots if 350,000 registered voters sign a petition, yet four out of five ballot initiatives fail to qualify. But five months after the freeze campaign began, the Seiditas saw their idea become reality when over 750,000 names were delivered to Sacramento in mid-April.

Starting with the Ban the Bomb movement, the Seiditas are long-time disarmament activists. Nick is a World War II vet and an educational counselor, and Jo raised four kids while keeping active in grassroots Democratic Party politics. He originated the idea for the California freeze after reading a 1980 article in *The Nation* that described one of the first successful local referenda, Proposition 7, in western Massachusetts. "If those voters passed that overwhelmingly despite a heavy local defense industry, I knew it was possible for California," he says.

Backed by the California Unitarian Universalist Association, the Seiditas obtained support from nearly 100 different organizations by last November. Using home petition parties, an organizing tool Jo developed to qualify Eugene McCar-

thy and George McGovern for the state's Democratic primaries, 1,600 parties were held. Within 10 days, more than 115,000 signatures were collected.

After working as a full-time volunteer coordinator for one year, Jo is now associate director of Californians for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze. The campaign has broken all state records for direct mail fundraising and fostered a serious public debate on defense spending. It has become an inescapable issue for elected officials at every level.

Money and attention has also flowed in from Hollywood's glitzy liberals; Paul Newman and Warren Beatty hosted a \$125-a-plate dinner on the eve of Peace Sunday. While both of the Seiditas are glad for the celebrity endorsements that inspire media coverage and raise money, they caution that the campaign must not depart from its base. They insist that a solid grassroots effort must be maintained to ensure the initiative's passage in November. Between now and then, the campaign's momentum will be kept going by door-to-door canvassing, educa-

tional programs at schools and churches, organized pressure on candidates and incumbents and commercial advertisements on TV.

Meanwhile, Sepulveda Unitarian and Nick Seidita are starting another campaign—a resolution calling for the United Nations to sponsor a global nuclear freeze initiative, which will be introduced this month at the U.N.'s second special session on disarmament. With the backing of the national Unitarian Universalist Association, Nick is confident that yet another California trend will catch on both nationally and internationally. ■

Randall Forsberg

By David Moberg

NOW THAT THE IDEA OF A nuclear freeze has captured the imagination of millions of Americans who may never before have identified with "the peace movement," the appealing simplicity and directness of the concept as an organizing tool may appear obvious. But it wasn't always that way.

For several years, Boston-based Randall Forsberg, who worked for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute from 1968 to 1974, has insistently pushed the idea among disarmament advocates. Others may have had similar proposals, but "the basic thing that Randy contributed in terms of the nuclear freeze proposal was a driving force and a basic idea that she stuck to—mutuality between the U.S. and the Soviet Union," says Bob DeGrasse, a military expert with the Council on Economic Priorities.

Other freeze proposals were not as clearly bilateral, but such a requirement was necessary to reach most Americans. And Forsberg, DeGrasse recounts, "stressed the need to talk to people outside the peace movement."

Forsberg's persistence grated on many people. Yet there is a widespread respect for her knowledge. David Cortright of SANE calls her "the most authoritative, most well-informed person on the arms race of anybody, including the admirals and generals." Nevertheless, many disarmament proponents felt that the freeze was an intellectually lightweight, technically flawed approach.

Although Forsberg is associated with single-minded concern about nuclear weapons, she argues that the U.S. "counterforce" capacity to knock out Soviet nuclear weapons "is maintained not to deter an out-of-the-blue nuclear attack on American cities" but rather "to give the U.S. greater freedom to intervene in developing countries without risking a conventional challenge or a responding intervention on the part of the Soviet Union."

Therefore, she argues that after a freeze, people must work to adopt a purely defensive, non-intervention, military policy; to reduce the mutually-detering conventional forces in the northern hemisphere; and to stop innovation in not only nuclear but also conventional weaponry. Only with that would it be possible to reduce the nuclear arsenals, and then, perhaps, peaceful resolution of international conflict would have a chance. ■

William Winpisinger

By David Moberg

WILLIAM WINPISINGER, president of the Machinists, was rallying support for left-wing Congressman Ron Dellums at the union's Lodge No. 115 hall in Oakland last November. After some well-aimed blasts at Reaganomics and the elitist ideology that had brought us "to the crossroads of arrogance and meanness," Wimpy—as every knows the affable, earthy and blunt union leader—began attacking the Reagan budget as "a gigantic wrongway transfer amendment" from "people programs" to the Pentagon.

Such talk is rare enough among union leaders. Only last February the AFL-CIO edged slightly from its strongly pro-military stance and appointed a committee—with Winpisinger on it—to discuss whether defense spending should be restrained. Yet there was Wimpy telling some of his members from defense plants—who make up as much as 15 percent of the 680,000-member union—that if the federal government spent its money on nearly any other sector—health, education, mass transit, railroads or solar energy—"we would get more job bang for the buck than we ever do from the high-tech weaponry of death and destruction."

"It's madness, stark raving madness," Winpisinger continued. "We can blow up the Russians 50 times and they can obliterate us 30 or 40 times over. Once dead is dead enough. Why invest in overkill? Are we any more secure? Do we feel any safer? Are we any better off here at home? It is time for a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons production. It is time for arms reductions."

As co-chair of SANE (the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), an endorser of Mobilization for Survival (promoting the June 12 New York disarmament rally) and a sponsor of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, Winpisinger, a former auto mechanic who rose steadily in the union as a capable bargainer and administrator, is frequently the lone high-placed labor voice criticizing the arms race in such uncompromising terms.

"Some people say he's isolated and irrelevant because he's way out front," Coalition labor liaison Gene Carroll says. "There may be a certain amount of truth that he's isolated but not that he's



Randall Forsberg



William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists, is frequently the lone high-placed labor voice criticizing the arms race.

irrelevant."

Winpisinger's doubts about the sense of expanded military spending date at least back to the early '60s and were deepened during his involvement in George McGovern's presidential campaign. His main contribution has been an emphasis on the need for conversion of military production to domestic needs. Many disarmament advocates have been insensitive to the economic problems of cutbacks and particularly to the devastation of the livelihoods of the roughly three million defense-related production workers.

The Machinists under Winpisinger have pushed conversion legislation in Congress and have recently started their own program, similar to that of the Lucas Aerospace workers in England, to figure out alternative production plans for defense companies.

More than simply speak out both in his constant travels around the country and to politicians in Washington, Winpisinger, declaring his socialist principles, constantly takes the message to his own members in conferences, local lodge meetings and now, as part of a political education campaign, to the shop floor.

There is still resistance from some staff and many members who are not always even entirely aware of what he is doing, but Winpisinger has managed to maintain a high degree of support and even admiration from the ranks. Many may be skeptical, but they seem to be listening.

Raymond Hunthausen

By Robert McClory

SEATTLE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP Raymond G. Hunthausen took a leap of faith last June 12 in a speech before 600 delegates to the Pacific Lutheran convention at Tacoma, Wash. "I think the teaching of Jesus tells us to render to a nuclear arms Caesar what that Caesar deserves: tax resistance!" he said. "We have to refuse to give our incense...to the nuclear idol...I believe one obvious meaning of the cross is unilateral disarmament."

Within a few days, Hunthausen, a relatively unknown church leader in a relatively obscure section of the country, had become a prominent national figure. To many it seemed incredible that a Catholic bishop would urge people to disobey the law. Yet the reaction in letters and newspaper editorials across the land was anything but condemnatory. He was consistently praised for "saying what had to be said" and for "sticking his neck out on behalf of the future of the world."

In fact, Hunthausen, 60, a balding,

during the summer and fall, Hunthausen was emboldened to go all the way. In a January speech at Notre Dame University, he said yes, he intends to withhold his taxes, and yes, he is prepared to go to jail if the Internal Revenue Service decides to move against him. "Our nuclear war preparations are the global crucifixion of Jesus..." he said.

Hunthausen's radicalization has been going on for at least seven years. A native of Anaconda, Mont., he was ordained a priest in 1946 and remained a dutiful churchman in the Helena, Mont., diocese until appointed archbishop of Seattle in 1975. It was near Seattle—on Puget Sound—that the U.S. Navy was constructing a base for Trident submarines, renowned for their first-strike nuclear capability. The new archbishop became acquainted with Jim Douglass, a young, anti-Trident activist associated with the Ground Zero Center for Non-Violent Action.

In 1976 when Douglass was involved in a public fast protesting the Navy base, he asked the archbishop for support. Hunthausen replied by sending a letter and 50 pages of background material to all his priests, urging them to speak out about the Trident and its significance. In the following years, he personally joined in demonstrations, praised Douglass and his colleagues and talked openly about the demands of the gospel in a nuclear age.

Yet when he spoke his boldest words last June, they were directly related to that with which he was most familiar. "We must take special responsibility for

what is in our own backyard," he said. "And when crimes are being prepared in our name, we must speak plainly. I say with a deep consciousness of those words that Trident is the Auschwitz of Puget Sound!"

Prop 8

Continued from page 7

accounted for, could be diverted to pay for law enforcement in the schools.

Opponents contend that not only is the proposed amendment expensive, but it is also unconstitutional, according to a number of California attorneys. Attorney Gary Sowards of Californians for Responsible Law Enforcement projects that the measure "is full of a number of outrageous and clearly unconstitutional provisions" the most blatant, of course, being the denial of constitutionally guaranteed right to bail. "Prop 8 will pass," says Bob Brownstein, a long-time San Jose activist and political figure, "then it will either be declared unconstitutional, will be modified by legislation or will bring the criminal justice system to a halt."

So who besides Paul Gann and law enforcement professionals is behind Proposition 8? The support comes from crime victims and individuals who are concerned about the increase of violent crimes and street crimes.

Louise Billote is a San Francisco-based freelance journalist.

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IN THE WORLD

WEST GERMANY



H. Boris Kerber

At the congress Hamburg's former mayor Hans Ulrich argued that "whoever demands balance [of nuclear forces] in Europe in reality is demanding American global superiority."

Defense debate on a tightrope

By Diana Johnstone

MUNICH

THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE recent congress of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Munich was defense policy. The long, intense debate centered on the controversial NATO plan to station U.S. Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles with nuclear warheads on West German soil. Most press reports slid over this debate and concentrated on Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's success in silencing his critics by pulling rank.

From this angle, what happened at the congress was that delegates who wore themselves out reasoning over a complex issue were put in their place ("leftists," "pacifists," "neutralists") by a realistic chancellor who understands power. This seems the most cynical version, and thus appeals to journalists who don't want to be taken in. Also, it is probable that correspondents of leading Western newspapers had this version leaked to them by authoritative sources close to Chancellor Schmidt.

When discussing East-West relations, leading West German politicians know that what they say can fall on the variously sensitive ears of their own constituents, their political opponents, the Americans, the Soviets, the East Germans and their European NATO allies. They are virtually obliged to speak on different levels. Yet there is no reason to assume that what they say among themselves at a party congress is necessarily the least sincere.

If this is so—and if the entire debate was not merely a sop thrown to the SPD rank-and-file by a party leadership whose first loyalty is to Washington and NATO—then it is possible to conclude that the SPD is overwhelmingly opposed to the stationing of nuclear missiles in Germany, overwhelmingly in favor of saving detente and is currently walking a tightrope on the missiles issue solely as part of a delicate effort to get the U.S. and the USSR to negotiate arms reduc-

tions in Europe.

The security policy resolution submitted to the congress by the party leadership recalled the December 1979 Berlin party congress' "double decision" to agree to deployment of NATO nuclear missiles four years hence while at the same time urging Soviet-American negotiations aimed at eliminating all such intermediate nuclear missiles from European soil. The resolution added, "The SPD will decide at a regular party congress in fall 1983 what conclusions to draw from the state of the negotiations for the question of stationing."

The leadership had to fight hard to defend this resolution from counter motions to decide immediately against the NATO missiles, or as a compromise to call a "moratorium" on all missile deployment or preparations. This would mean that work could not go ahead on building launching sites for the Pershing 2 or Cruise missiles.

Willy Brandt's right-hand man Egon Bahr, who helped negotiate the treaties with Eastern Europe that gave form to *Ostpolitik*, was given the task of defending the leadership resolution before the commission on security and peace policy. "The SPD sees no sensible alternative to detente," the long resolution said.

Bahr maintained that despite unfortunate delays, things were still going according to the long-range plan for detente envisaged back in 1969. This required three stages. First came a bilateral stage of Bonn's treaties with Eastern Europe, next a multilateral stage (the Helsinki accords) and, finally, a third step of "transferring detente to the military field." This is the idea behind the Mutual Balanced Forces Reduction (MBFR) talks in Vienna. He said this third step is necessary to complete the work of detente, for detente cannot survive the arms race.

Commenting on the debate recently opened in the U.S. over possible renunciation of "first use" of nuclear weapons, Bahr recalled that first use was NATO's strategic answer to the Warsaw Pact's conventional arms superiority. "Thus it would only be logical to say

that negotiations are necessary to reach a conventional balance. For one thing is clear, if we can achieve conventional balance, then the presupposition on which first use of atomic weapons was premised falls away." But, he added, necessary strategic discussion should not distract from immediate concentration on getting a zero-option in medium range missiles out of current negotiations.

The word among Social Democrats is that Schmidt made a big fuss about the Soviet SS20 missiles essentially to get the U.S. and the USSR to negotiate limita-

SPD delegates were put in their place by a chancellor who understood power.

tions and reductions of intermediate range weapons that had been left out of the SALT talks. But the whole matter got out of hand after the U.S. Senate failed to ratify SALT 2 and a new administration was installed in Washington ready to throw out detente and plunge into the arms race. Germans were ready to agree to the Pershing and Cruise missiles on paper, as "bargaining chips" to help American diplomats get the Russians to scrap their SS20s. What has caused consternation is the prospect that the Reagan administration is actually intent on going ahead and installing the damn things on German soil.

To prevent the overwhelming SPD rejection of the NATO missiles from expressing itself, Bahr and other party leaders argued that maintaining the double decision was the best way to pressure both sides to get results at Geneva. Bahr said at a time when the Soviets were being asked to scrap expensive missiles, it was "grotesque" to argue (as morator-

ium proponents did) that if the money were spent on preparing sites the missiles would definitely be stationed. The West needed to have something costly and concrete to junk. This was the best argument anyone could come up with for not vetoing the missiles now.

Saying "yes" or "no" to the missiles is the only decision Germany has the legal and especially political weight to make, and the decision should be held off so that maximum pressure can be applied. "If we said we'll station them in 1983 no matter what, the Americans would no longer need to negotiate seriously," Bahr concluded. "And if we said we won't station them in any case, the Soviets would no longer need to negotiate seriously."

This view was contested by Erhard Eppler, a member of the SPD's governing 12-man presidium and leading spokesman of the party's anti-missile forces. In both the logic of his argument and the style of his delivery, Eppler is a brilliant orator, and his fairly brief interventions in the debate set off the most fervent ovations of the congress. Eppler asked why no Western government, in Geneva or elsewhere, had tried to explore what Brezhnev meant when he said in Bonn that in case of a moratorium, the Soviet Union would be prepared to make one-sided reductions.

Eppler said Horst Ehmke had raised an "important question": Why since the mid-'70s had the Soviet Union ignored Helmut Schmidt's protests and gone ahead with deploying its SS20 nuclear missiles targeting Western Europe? Eppler said he had posed that question to Soviet leaders who answered that they did not take these admonitions seriously; because for 20 years they had enjoyed overwhelming superiority in European land-based missiles and couldn't imagine this would suddenly become such a big issue. Whether or not this is the complete answer, Eppler said, it is a reminder that for 20 years nobody objected to what is now being denounced as an intolerable imbalance in this weapons systems category.

Eppler said he did not believe in the zero-option as proposed by Reagan, "First, because it only refers to land-based rockets, and Trident submarines fire as many warheads as 300 SS20s. Second, because even if they wanted to, the Americans cannot include the British and French nuclear missiles."

Eppler foresaw a "frightful debate" next year if, as he fears, the Geneva negotiations lead to nothing and each side tries to blame the other. Washington will blame Moscow and make Bonn blame Moscow as well, "and I can well imagine what that will be like."

In contrast to Protestant pastor Eppler's profoundly alarming analysis, the SPD's number two anti-missile spokesman, Oskar Lafontaine, the 39-year-old mayor of Saarbrücken, has a more upbeat political approach. He seems to believe the moratorium proposal is a winning political proposition, for both himself and his party. "When we say we want to stay in the government, let's not just look at NATO but also at the German voters," he said, adding that he was deeply convinced that this was the issue that could revive the SPD's fading electoral fortunes.

Lafontaine stressed the connection between armament and unemployment, and pointed to the fast-growing peace movement in the U.S. as an answer to accusations of "anti-Americanism."

Restoring balance.

The pretext of "restoring balance" in Europe came under heavy attack during the debate. Lafontaine called the "balance of forces" concept a major obstacle to successful arms negotiations. Hamburg's former mayor Hans Ulrich Klose argued that "balance can only be globally defined regarding the U.S.-USSR relationship. Whoever wants global balance must accept regional imbalance. Whoever demands balance in Europe in reality is demanding American global superiority." Moreover, he added, "balance is not to be reckoned practically, but is agreed upon." This requires a trust that does not exist. And in the absence of trust, the notion of "balance" leads to a permanent arms race. Yet the

very notion of balance, in a nuclear age when each side can destroy the other many times over, is absurd.

If anything was new about the SS20 missiles, said Klose, it was not the Soviet nuclear threat to Europe—which has existed for 20 years—but rather American willingness to counter that threat by defending Western Europe with its strategic nuclear potential. But if the real problem is the alliance, “then we should say so, so we know what we’re talking about.”

Klose added that the issue with the Per-

U.S. first-strike weapons stationed in Germany was the hottest point of polemic clash. Defense Minister Hans Apel said he didn’t think the USSR would be so foolish as to first strike Germany preventively. Rather, the danger the Bonn government sees in the Soviet missiles is an eventual attempt to bring political pressure. Eppler retorted resoundingly that NATO strategy was built on the notion that those people who Apel said would not be “so foolish” as to knock out nuclear missiles on German soil might, on

stuck its head resolutely in the sand regarding the whole defense debate developing throughout the rest of the West. With astonishing unanimity, the French press has portrayed the peace movement as KGB-inspired neutralists or German nationalists who want to sell the beloved Polish people into Gulag slavery—and so on. As a result, the French public is falling so far behind reality on this issue that the few people who have stayed awake are wondering if it can ever catch up.

The SPD resolution said that French and British nuclear weapons had to be counted in the balance between East and West. This is the sort of thing that sets alarm bells ringing in Paris. If the Americans are no longer willing to cover Europe with their nuclear umbrella, then the Germans naturally start thinking of some sort of European deterrent force that incorporates the British and French systems. But the French have always balked at committing their nuclear weaponry to the defense of anything but French territory. Perhaps secret negotiations may modify this. But whereas the German elite has needed (even if it cannot completely control) a popular mass movement to increase its own international bargaining weight (and American liberals seem to be recognizing that they need one too), the French elite seems determined to keep this issue strictly out of the public domain.

A security partnership.

Among themselves, the German Social Democrats concluded unanimously that their conception of “security partnership”—of a system in which recognition of the security needs of all powers replaces rivalry and confrontation—was the correct orientation for the future. But the majority accepted the need to go slow in pressing this advanced conception on allies who were still far behind, but who could be prodded to catch up.

At the end of the debate, Helmut Schmidt came on with a speech that seemed addressed more to his fans in the foreign press (and embassies) than to the

SPD delegates. And the press seemed to go for it; Jean Wetz of *Le Monde* raved that Schmidt had boldly routed the pacifist neutralists with a few well-chosen words. Perhaps the boos, hisses and groans from the audience distracted attention from what Schmidt said. For what he said—between hints that the whole debate was nothing but a veiled attack against his own person—was that he had recently been the most criticized European leader in the U.S., but he was able to stand up to it and had the best existing credentials for successfully influencing the Americans “through four different administrations.”

It is almost farcical that Schmidt’s performance was widely described as a display of his power to master his troublesome party, whereas the content was largely a boast of his power to master his troublesome allies.

German leaders must reckon with policy swings in Washington.

German leaders must reckon with unpredictable policy swings in Washington. Are they to scrap detente, with incalculable economic and political consequences, only to see Kennedy defeat Reagan in 1984 and try to revive it? Franz Josef Strauss is trying to sell himself to the Reagan administration as their man (Fred Ikle brought a certain endorsement to Strauss’ right-wing Christian Social Union meeting in Munich), but the main line Christian Democrats may be more cautious. Thus there is speculation that Schmidt may be thinking in terms of an eventual “grand coalition” with the Christian Democrats as well as the Liberals to preserve basic German interests—such as peaceful relations between the two German states. ■

Erhard Eppler (left), a Protestant pastor, and Oskar Lafontaine (right), mayor of Saarbrücken, are the SPD’s leading anti-missile spokesmen.



shing 2 and Cruise missiles was not global balance but global superiority, since they would give NATO and the U.S. a powerful first-strike capacity that the USSR is nowhere near having. Modern weapons development is undermining the deterrence doctrine of “mutually assured destruction” and making some strategists consider a “first strike” feasible, Klose noted. “In this context, the talk of a limited war in Europe takes on in my view a frightful significance. My fear is that the USSR in certain circumstances might think that someone in the West is planning a first strike, and then....”

While worded delicately, the potential danger of a Soviet first strike against

the other hand, be so foolish as to launch a conventional attack to which those missiles, unscathed, could respond.

Simply on the level of rational strategic argument, the anti-missile, pro-moratorium forces made the strongest case. Even so, they were defeated in the final vote by arguments of another nature, mainly this one: We cannot afford to openly oppose our main allies. Our only hope is to lie low and let Helmut Schmidt and company work on the Americans and the French in his own way.

France is a problem. The entire French political elite, intent on clinging to the *force de frappe* and maintaining divided Germany as its nuclear Maginot Line, has

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In every city in the U.S., resistance to the Reagan administration is steadily growing. But the opposition is still based on single issues and is relatively scattered across the country. The time has come to call for the formation of a national coalition opposed to the Reagan administration.

This coalition must target the policies of the Reagan administration and the top corporations that are reaping billions in superprofits. An integral part of its work will be a counterattack against the current national resurgence of racism. This coalition must continue beyond the Reagan administration, as long as the government and top corporations continue the war drive and continue their attacks on the American people.

To be as democratic as possible, the precise program for such a federation must necessarily come from those grass-roots groups and individuals actively engaged in fighting the Reagan program. A national conference will be called in July, 1982 to hammer out key aspects of the program and organizational structure and to discuss a national action for the fall.

To build for this national conference of a Federation for Progress, we are calling for a series of city-wide and regional meetings to set up organizing committees. These organizers’ meetings need not be large, but they should at least include organizers from a broad range of organizations which have maintained a good track record of fighting for peace, jobs, and equality. It may be possible to send some of our organizers to your city in order to initiate your first city-wide or regional meeting.

Signed by:

Rev. Philip Berrigan, Activist; Leonard Weinglass, Attorney; Benjamin Spock, Author; Anne Braden, Southern Civil Rights & Peace Activist; Elizabeth McAlister, Activist; Ronald Dellums, Rep., U.S. Congress; Nelson Johnson, Activist; Pete Seeger, Musician; Sidney Lens, Author; Richard Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Indiana; Kitty Tucker, Non-Nuclear World, Supporters of Silkwood; William Kunstler, Attorney; Michio Kaku, Professor of Nuclear Physics; Julian Bond, Member, Georgia State Senate; Florence Kennedy, Attorney; Manning Marable, Professor of Political Economy; Parren Mitchell, Rep., U.S. Congress; Don Luce, Southeast Asia Resource Center; Michael Parenti, Author; Helen Rodriguez-Trias, M.D., Women’s Health Network; Musheer Robinson, Exec. Dir., NJCOSH; Dean Dillard Robinson, Trinity Cathedral (Episcopal), Newark, NJ; Frances Hubbard, Teacher, Community Health & Social Medicine.

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GORE VIDAL /S/ SERIOUS

By Joan Walsh

SANTA BARBARA

IF GORE VIDAL DIDN'T EXIST, TELEVISION talk-show hosts would have to invent him. He's an all-purpose guest—novelist, playwright, social critic, homosexualist—and his mere presence raises any show's collective IQ, its audience's consciousness, its network ratings.

Yet the medium itself can't help but undermine the highbrow subversive's message. Urging viewers to rise up against the country's owners and their overseer, television, he's just another talking head, an opinion out of context, ultimately as liberating politically as talk-show regular Charo is sexually. After all, if it's as bad as he says why do they let him on television?

The politics of television frustrates Vidal, understandably. But is running for U.S. Senate in California the answer? He thinks so. Facing Jerry Brown in the June 8 Democratic primary, he's looking to left-liberals and others fed up with the governor's political chameleon-act to embrace him as "the serious alternative."

Brown used to promise alternatives himself: to corporate politics as usual, to a consumer society and economy based on health risks and planned obsolescence. Now his eclectic independence appears to have been political adolescence, growing pains his father and the California Democratic establishment tolerated while waiting for him to reach senatorial maturity. With the same candor that used to oppose corporate responsibility, Brown speaks out for the defense industry these days. He supports the B-1 bomber and increased military spending, he says, because California is lapping at the defense trough and it's his responsibility as would-be senator to keep it full. Few politicians lay it all so bare.

Vidal is an alternative, but is he serious? He says he can win and talks up his

rapport with the average voter, to whom, thanks to television, his relatively radical ideas are familiar.

Candidacy has blunted some of his edges. He no longer calls himself a socialist, as he did for a time. Though slashing the military budget by two-thirds is the cornerstone of his campaign, he wouldn't nationalize the defense industry. Still, his criticism of the corporate "garrison state" is more thorough than any other candidate's, and it would be refreshing to hear it on the Senate floor instead of the Merv Griffin Show.

During the 1980 presidential campaign you told an interviewer: "Reagan has no chance of being elected. It's true the United States is turning into Paraguay, but not at that speed." What happened? Welcome to Asuncion! There was a broader context to that remark they didn't use. I said, 'I don't think the U.S. is under such a dark star that Ronald Reagan could get elected.' For once I was optimistic, but the star was dark and he got elected. No, actually I still believe Carter was defeated, Reagan wasn't really elected. Everybody was sick of Carter.

You ran for the House of Representatives in 1960, but in the last decade, at least, you've said repeatedly that you were through with electoral politics, as a candidate if not all together. What changed your mind?

I suppose it's general frustration. Here I am, able to go on TV and express myself for the last 30 years and nothing happens. It's extremely frustrating if you have an activist mentality. And then I saw a lot of things converging that alarmed me. One is this garrison state we've had since the Second World War. It's out of control. The military budget is out of control. The U.S. seems to be the permanent adversary of everybody, and this is dangerous. So I wanted to do something about it.

I draw attention to it, but what differ-

ence does that make? I'm another voice on TV: You switch channels and somebody is saying something else. To go to the Senate would certainly legitimize my views. I'd have a lot of things in mind that I'd like to do. So it really isn't running for office so much as the desire to be elected. And like the founders, I think you should first achieve your name and reputation before you go to the Senate, not get it there. Nowadays they start at 25, out of law school, with a hair dryer they start running for office.

Many people like your politics but wish you weren't running against Brown; they think there are better targets.

I don't see Brown as much of anything except a professional politician. If I hear another word about those wonderful appointments I'm going to go up the wall. It's all done with a slide rule. If there is sufficient votes among Tibetan grandmothers, you'll appoint a Tibetan grandmother; that's the way you get the votes of the Tibetan grandmothers. So he's done all of that meticulously.

I'd say there's an enormous difference between Brown and me. He has drifted in the last few years into the military/industrial/political complex. He is now a conventional politician, representing not only that complex but oil interests; he has an enormous amount of oil money behind him. On specifics, he's for the B-1 bomber. I'm not, any right-minded person is against that \$40 billion debacle. He's for more defense spending, he's going to bring all this defense money to California. Then he's for the nuclear freeze.

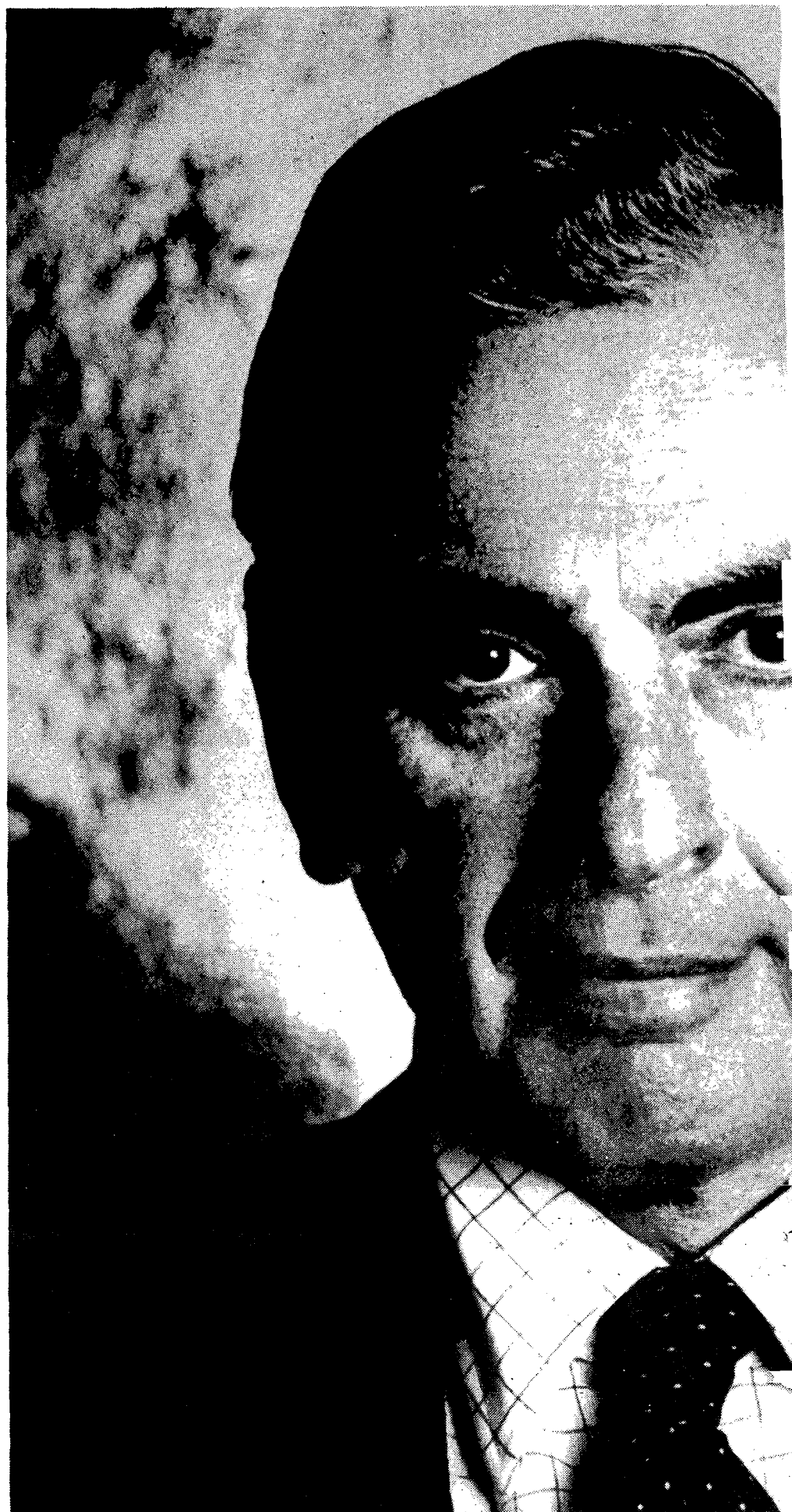
This is a form of political schizophrenia that should be drawn attention to. And it's a real disappointment, because I thought about eight years ago he was the only interesting politician in the U.S.

What do you think of his call for better education in the sciences to boost productivity—every man a computer programmer?

It's just resonated air. Yes, education is important, but he's cut back on it. There's been a 3 percent raise, on the average, in the education budget since he's been governor, which is less than the inflation rate. So the whole thing has really begun to deteriorate. Of course, he can say he wasn't responsible for Proposition 13, though he later embraced it, but he's done very little for education when he had a chance. He took a line of mine about why our productivity rate is so low. I used to say that one reason was we have more lawyers in the state of California than they have engineers in all of Japan. Brown just loved that, he put it in the state of the state and his whole high tech rap is based on that one line. I don't mind him taking my lines if he'd take the ideas too.

I know you don't like to be called cynical—you prefer realistic—but if you're cynical about anything it's electoral politics—the process of someone "being bought 10 times over" in the course of running for high office. Have your views changed in the process of running for Senator?

Oh, it's worse than I thought, worse



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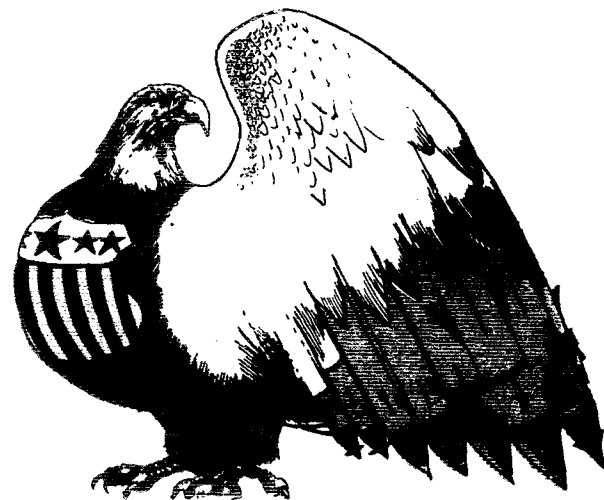
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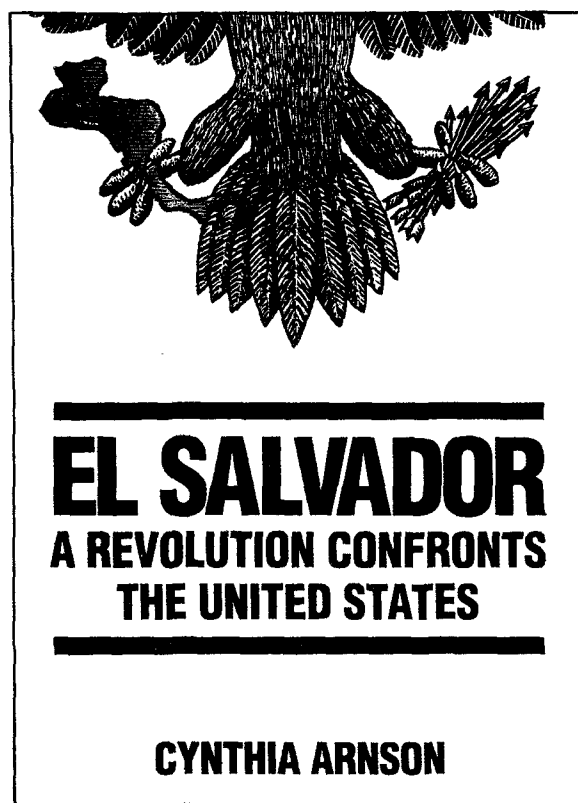
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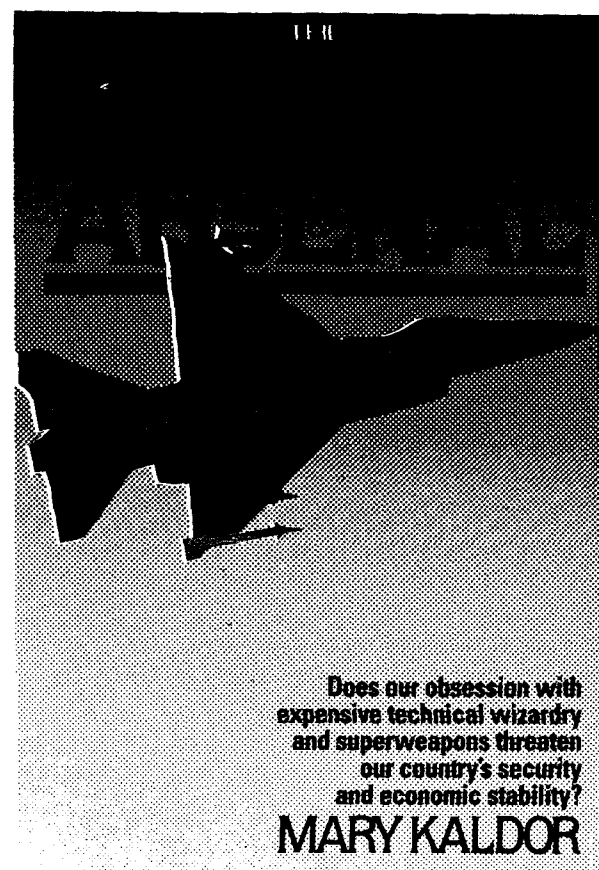
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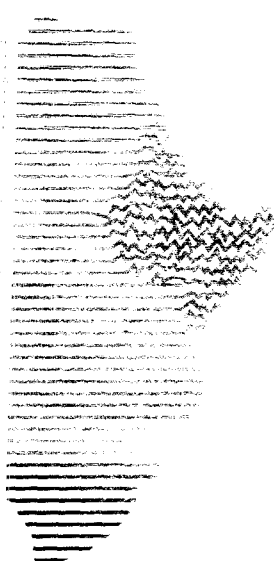
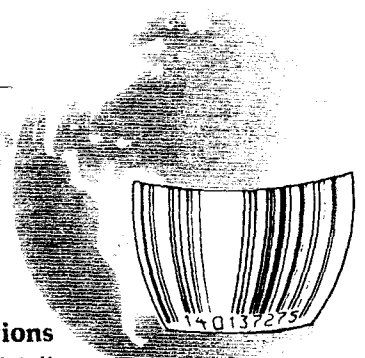
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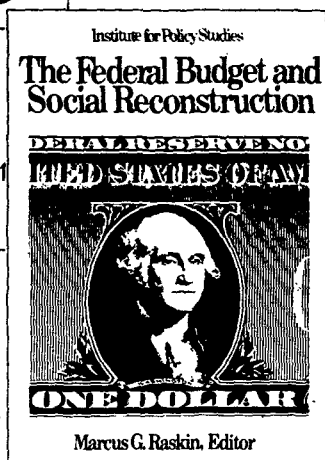
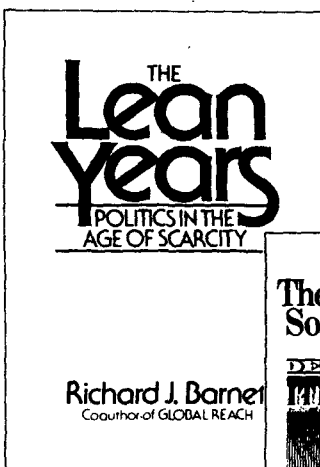
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The prolific writer and frequent talk-show guest explains why he's running for the U.S. Senate.

Reagan is, 'We will cut back when we're at the point of equality'—well, no two things in nature are ever equal, so that means never. We are so far ahead of them in every form of technology, every form of weaponry...

I think they're more apt to play it straight than we would. It is big business here for a few people, this military/industrial/political complex. They control much of the Congress, they control this particular president, so we're not apt to play it straight. They are not angels, but they have more motive to cut back. Their economy is really catastrophic, the country barely works.

Where are we headed in Central America?

I hope we're headed for the exit. We have no business there. Monitoring an election in El Salvador—Chicago, yes, but not El Salvador. And then we wonder why we are hated, when we're constantly interfering, overtly or covertly, in the affairs of other countries since 1945.

I was in Guatemala after the war, held up in Antigua writing a couple of books, and I had a friend, speaker of the Assembly, their Parliament, and he said, 'We're going to be overthrown by the U.S.' A new president, Arbenz, had been elected.

'United Fruit is very powerful here, and Arbenz is going to try and tax them,' he told me. 'If he taxes them, you Americans are going to overthrow him.'

'Liar,' I said, 'You're paranoid.' And of course, it happened. Ever since then it's been a regime of blood because we gave it back to the military.

Do you still consider yourself a socialist?

Oh, you can't use that word. I'm a red, white and blue American, a homespun American. A do-it-yourself American, a free enterprise just about anything wholesome you can think of.

What word are you using?

I don't use one, we don't characterize. I was stuck the other day, though, on socialized medicine. 'You're in favor of socialized medicine,' someone said. I said 'No, I'm in favor of red, white and blue free enterprise medicine that the government would pay for.' 'That sounds good,' they said. 'And get the insurance companies out of health.' 'That sounds good, too,' they said. You have to come at it like that.

Is there anything interesting happening on the left?

I can't even find the left. We used to be considered the left because we were against the Vietnam war. Well, Dr. Benjamin Spock knew as much about left-wing economics as I know about aerospace. He wasn't political at all except on the issue of the war.

I thought Michael Harrington made a big mistake. We had a row about this 20 years ago, and it's ironic that I should have had the row because I was running for Congress as a Democrat and he was head of the Socialist Party. He kept saying, 'We've got to work within the Democratic Party,' and I said, 'But you don't. What I'm doing I can do—[I thought]—within the Democratic Party, but we need a socialist alternative. Don't get co-opted.'

What about Tom Hayden these days?

I debated Tom Hayden on TV in 1964, Nat Hentoff moderated, Abbie Hoffman was there—it as the first time they were on television. I was there to be the boring old ADA liberals versus the voice of the revolution, which was Tom Hayden. He said, 'We must destroy this society and begin again.' Well, I said, 'That's just fine, I'm going to join you, but what do you have to replace it?' And he said, 'That's not the way it's done. You must destroy first.' So I said, 'That's very interesting, it's good Fanon, but the French revolution gave us Bonaparte and the Russian revolution gave us Stalin.'

Since then he's...well, you know what he's done. I like the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), what it stands for, they've done good work up and down the state. I once said of him—Mike Wallace quoted it to him on *60 Minutes* a year or two ago, I didn't remember having said it—that he'd given opportunism a bad name. You can guess what our relations are. He seems to change all the time.

But you respect CED?

I like it very much. Locally, around L.A., it is Hayden. Up in the north, in Chico, Santa Cruz and Davis—the most interesting places in the state, where the kids have gotten out of the universities and taken over the town—CED likes to take a lot of credit but it's really the grassroots. They've elected mayors, they've elected city councils. That to me is politics. I preach that, particularly as you go south and there's apathy. I told the story at USC, the kids say, 'What can we do?' I tell them, 'There's a lot you can do. You can't take over L.A., it's too big, but there's Inglewood.'

And Santa Monica...

The People's Republic? I think it's great. I have the greatest admiration for what's going on. But we'll see what the powers of darkness do. I think there's going to be a lot of turbulence.

Do you ever regret the time you've spent on TV?

No, it's given me 38 percent name recognition among registered Democrats in this state, so it's been useful. People are used to me, and I'm able to take positions that are denied people that are not well known, because they've seen me around for years and years.

In your writing you seem to despair of the average American, trapped by TV and consumerism.

No, I don't really. I get around, more than most writers do, and I'm always startled by how bright people are. I also pick up their cynicism and total despair about our political system. They don't like it. They know the senators are representing oil interests and so on, but they see no way out. Since I'm not hustling snake oil I can't say I'm the way out, but I do try to explain things, how the country is run, what our history is, and they find that interesting. And I talk about the things that do make me optimistic—Santa Cruz, Chico, Santa Monica—there is something happening. There are activists who do take over towns.

A version of this article first appeared in the *Santa Barbara News & Review*, on which Joan Walsh is a staff member.

on gross adjusted income of every corporation. Each one would have to be differently set up because the problems of an oil company are not those of a steel company, but we'd leave no air in it, as the tax lawyers say, for them to monkey around. And they...would accept it. They spend more than that now on lawyers, accountants and buying members of Congress, which is very expensive. The amount of revenue raised would be so great I would then exempt from all federal income taxes anyone making less than \$11,700, the median income.

For the rest there would be a graduated income tax, but I'll make it contingent on next year's budget. So they'd tell you, we're going to need \$800 billion for '83 and we'd have to raise \$800 billion, not a penny more or less. Therefore the budget is in automatic balance. [It amounts to] a referendum on the budget. The people would be told in advance that you'll have to go from 30 percent to 50 percent to pay for this budget, and they'll say: 'No you've got to cut the budget.'

Do you still want to see the intelligence agencies abolished?

Yes, I do, but first I would like to see a Congressional investigation. They are illegal and they are unconstitutional. The Constitution requires that every government agency submit its books for the inspection of Congress, but they've never done that. They hide their budget inside the defense budget and nobody gets to see it.

How does a rational foreign policy deal with the Soviet Union?

If we had a president I would have him pull a Sadat and just go to Moscow or Geneva, meet his Russian counterpart, and say 'Look, the time has come to cut back, the arms race has destroyed your economy and it's destroying our economy.' So far we've never been serious about it....As long as we're saying, like

than when I ran in 1960. I was able to run a very respectable campaign, double the Democratic vote—I ran 20,000 votes ahead of Jack Kennedy, the head of the ticket—and I did the whole thing on \$14,000. My god, now it really is nothing but fundraising. The westside of Los Angeles, which is a natural place for us local hacks to be picking up money, everytime you turn around there's another presidential hopeful. There's Fritz Mondale slithering across the room, there's Teddy crashing into the next room. They're all there with their hands out. I finally said 'Go home, Fritz, go home, get your money somewhere else. You're making it impossible for the rest of us.'

How do you raise money?

In the worst possible way. It's soul-destroying. But a curious thing has happened. I was being presented as this elitist intellectual, great on the campuses and with the wine and cheese set, but what's he got to say to the common man? But all my support is blue collar. I go to the Democratic Clubs, I get \$5, \$10, \$20, it's extraordinary. Just ordinary working-class people—they are the ones who are turned on. You see, the official liberals don't really want any change of any kind. You talk about taxing corporations, they don't really like that. They just want to be sorry for the poor.

Let's talk about your corporate tax proposals.

I'd put a 10 percent to 15 percent flat tax

EDITORIAL

Overwhelming popular support for a nuclear freeze has pushed Reagan to give ground.

From the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War to the Reagan administration, the Democrats, vulnerable because they were in office during the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, were generally more bellicose than the Republicans. We got involved in the Korean war under Harry Truman and it took Republican Dwight Eisenhower to get us out of that war. The nuclear confrontation with the Soviets known as the Cuban missile crisis was John F. Kennedy's doing. And it was under Kennedy and then Lyndon Johnson that the United States was deeply committed to intervention in Vietnam, a war that ended during the Richard Nixon administration. Nixon also presided over detente and was the president who recognized China a quarter of a century after that country's revolution.

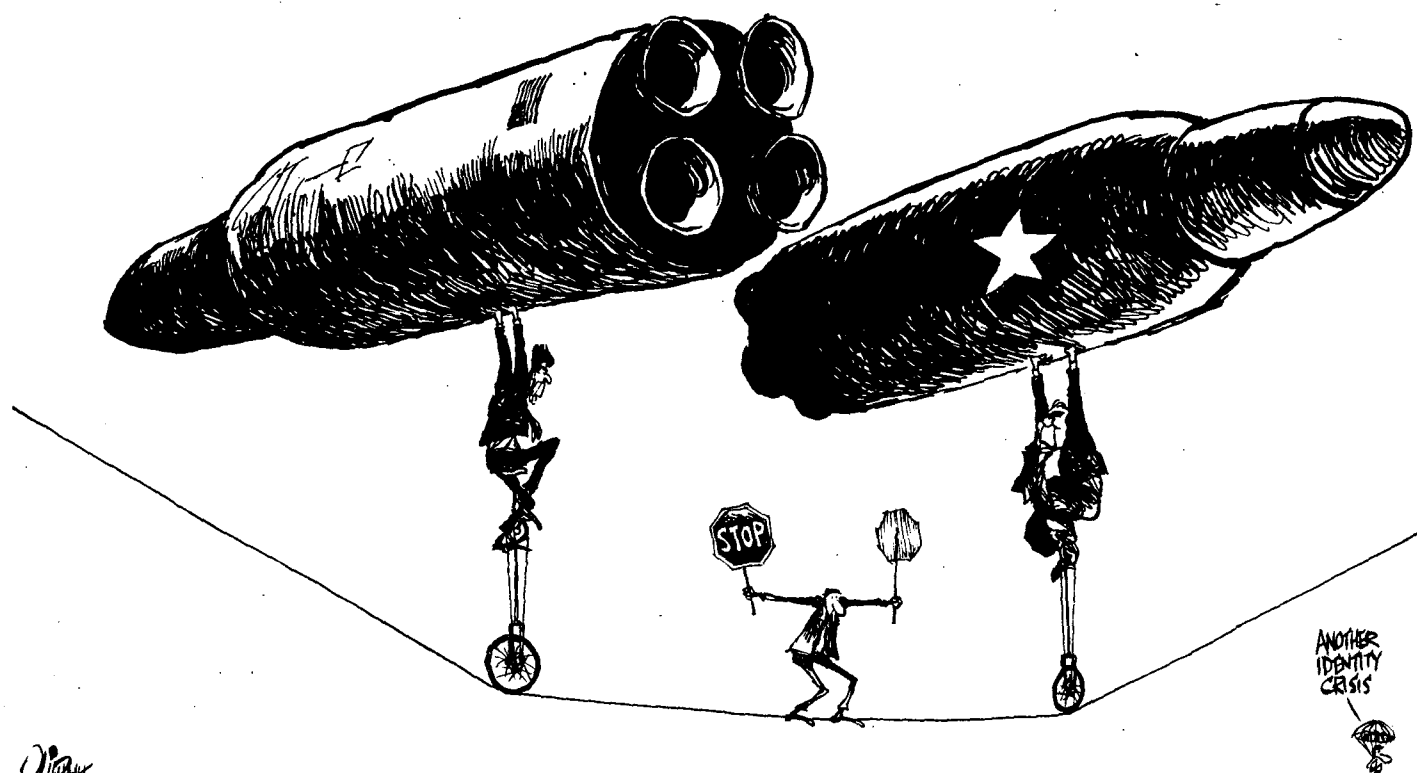
Does this mean that Ronald Reagan will preside over the end of the nuclear arms race, despite his belligerent Cold War mentality? Anything is possible, but if the nuclear arms race ends before the Republicans leave office in 1985, the credit will go to the American people, and especially to those involved in the nuclear freeze campaign and other anti-Cold War activities, just as credit for ending the Vietnam war goes to the Vietnamese, who refused to be defeated, and to the American people who opposed the Johnson and Nixon policies.

Eureka College was the right place for Reagan to have discovered the political advantage in talking about rolling back nuclear arms, rather than hinting at their possible use, as he has done until recently. But Reagan's discovery, unlike Archimedes', had less to do with science than with the art of politics.

The President's conversion to the rhetoric of sanity had two immediate sources. First is the fact that Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), the man who couldn't win a presidential primary in 1980, now has a commanding lead in the 1984 presidential trial heats. He is leading Reagan in public opinion polls among all voters and is well ahead of Walter Mondale. And, of course, Kennedy is co-sponsor, along with Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) of the joint congressional resolution for a nuclear freeze—a proposal that the administration still vehemently opposes.

Second, the Eureka speech was preparation for Reagan's planned trip to Western Europe, according to a senior White House aide quoted by Steve Neal in the *Chicago Tribune* (May 23). "We wanted to pre-empt the issue and stay in front of it," the aide said. The fervor of last fall's antinuclear demonstrations in Europe, Neal says, "alerted Reagan to the propaganda value of the nuclear issue and helped mobilize his senior advisors on framing a U.S. arms reduction package." Their purpose, according to another Reagan advisor, was to "present the Soviets with a package with enough incentives to get both sides to the table."

From the Reagan administration's point of view, committed as it is to a massive build-up of nuclear arms, the package was well formulated. But it re-



OUT OF THE WAY, YOU COMMIE NUISANCE — ER, NOT YOU, LEONID... THIS OTHER GUY!

Peacenik in spite of himself?

mains within the general lines of Reagan's approach to nuclear arms enunciated two years ago in a speech to the American Legion. "Once we achieve parity with the Soviets in strategic weapons," Reagan said, "we must strive for arms limitation," including "significant arms reduction."

Reagan is still insisting that the U.S. has fallen behind, and that reductions in land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), the one area in which the Soviets do have a numerical lead, take place even while the development and production of new missiles—the MX and others—goes forward.

But, as Hans Bethe argued persuasively before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 13, our strategic forces are not inferior to the Soviets and are not in danger of becoming so. While it is true that the Soviets have developed new weapons, notably the SS-18, 19 and 20, the U.S. has also moved forward in nuclear weaponry, especially in submarine-based missiles and in the development of the airborne Cruise missile,

against which, Bethe says, there is no defense. Indeed, Bethe says, "the elaborate and costly Russian air defense system has been made obsolete by the Cruise missile, 3,000 of which are to be installed on our bombers." And in any case, parity in ICBM's, which is what Reagan is seeking, is pointless because the increasing accuracy of missiles on both sides makes all land-based weapons vulnerable, according to Bethe.

Does all this mean that Reagan's Eureka College proposal is nothing but a propaganda ploy in his ideological Cold War? There is some ground to think that this was the administration's intention, but in foreign policy Reagan's hopes have mostly met with frustration, and there is every chance that here, too, he may not be able to proceed with his plans for further nuclear escalation.

The truth is that we are most threatened by what Bethe calls "the grotesque size and continuing growth of both the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals." He endorses George Kennan's proposal for immediate reductions in nuclear arms

on a basis that could safely begin even without a treaty. Kennan's plan calls for similar reductions by both superpowers of some 5 percent of the existing force per year. Each side could choose the weapons it wants to retire, and compliance could easily be verified by satellites. The great virtue of this plan is that it is so simple that it could quickly be agreed to. In fact, Bethe says, it would not even require agreement. The U.S. could make the reduction and challenge the Soviets to do the same. If they did, we could then follow with a second reduction, and so on. This would not even require a treaty, though it could lead to one that would guarantee permanent reductions in nuclear forces.

Reagan, of course, will not consider such a proposal. But popular pressure for it could force the administration to reach agreement with the Soviets on some real reductions of nuclear arms. And sufficient pressure on the issue might bring forth a Democratic presidential candidate committed to such a program.

Suddenly, from out of nowhere, a vindication

Two weeks ago, in an editorial reply that was part of a dialog with both the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and the Citizens Party, we wrote that DSA should seriously consider running candidates in selected congressional districts because the Democratic Party primaries are open, relatively easy to contest and, if won, provide a realistic chance of election. And we commented that the Citizens Party, because of its insistence on being a third party, had much less chance than DSA of playing a role in national policy formation.

Little did we know that the week before two members of the Citizens Party in Indiana had proven our point about DSA by departing from their own party's disdain for the mainstream. As we reported May 26, Walt Pearson and Steve Bonney, after failing to qualify for independent ballot spots in Indiana's 6th and

7th congressional districts, entered the Democratic primaries in both districts and, to everyone's surprise, came within 2,000 votes of winning one and succeeded in winning the other. As a result, Bonney is now the Democratic candidate for Congress in the 7th district, a new district in traditionally Republican territory. (In the 14 counties that make up the 7th district the Republicans received 57 percent of the vote in 1980.) In November, a massive popular defection from Reagan could well throw the election to this new Democrat—or Citizen in Democrat's clothing.

DSA leaders have argued that this can't be done—or, at least that they can't do it because they do not have the resources and because coalitions of sufficient size and strength to win require non-DSA candidates. (More respectable? More mainstream? But Bonney

spent only \$1,000 in his race, and he is hardly mainstream—he may not even be respectable.)

Bonney's success and Pearson's near success (he spent only \$200) raise questions about the concept of coalition that seems to dominate DSA thinking. In a coalition between an elephant and a mouse, the mouse cannot expect to push the elephant very far. That may explain why DSA has had trouble getting the major unions that have participated in Democratic Agenda meetings to do much more than participate in the conferences. The plain fact is that DSA brings little to Democratic Agenda other than good ideas.

Beyond that, it is the particular function of political organizations like DSA to run people for office. That is not what unions are in business to do, though they are able and often willing to support serious candidates who will represent their interests if elected. If DSA did get some of its people nominated, even in traditionally Republican districts, it might be able to get some more follow-through from labor and other groups that support its principles and goals. Wouldn't that be nice?

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

HALF AN ANALOG IS BETTER THAN NONE

I HIGHLY APPRECIATE *IN THESE TIMES'* coverage of the events and portrayal of the struggles of workers in Poland now under martial law authority. Perhaps what we should now begin to consider is the impact that movement has had on our own and what lessons we can learn.

The parallels between the conditions and actions of Polish workers and workers in Canada and the U.S. are many. The economic crises, the growing alienation from work and the existing political framework and institutions, as well as discontent against a moribund unionism has been felt in all three countries.

In Poland that discontent finally burst forth into a movement known as *Solidarnosc* which began to question some very fundamental relations of the workers to employers, the state, the bureaucracy. In Canada and the U.S. those same initial rumblings of mass discontent are heard and have occasionally surfaced into action.

One major significance of the Polish events is that the question of workers control, self-management and indeed the whole range of demands arose by workers organizing outside the traditionally accepted political mainstream of state unions and party organs. There is something here from which we can learn in the face of our own Jaruzelski's promoting cutbacks, austerity measures and those union leaderships weakening the movement by granting concessions to the employers.

We may deride our own sense of powerlessness but must learn how in Poland a workers' movement arose in a society often described as "static," where the working class was atomized and their organs lethargic.

This in many ways can let us confront the often repeated "crisis of socialism and marxism" in order that we can put socialism on the agenda so long abstracted from the working class and monopolized by its self-appointed saviors and vanguards.

—Len Wallace
Windsor Solidarity with Solidarity Committee
Windsor, Ont.

LOU GRANT

OBVIOUSLY ED ASNER DIDN'T LEARN the cardinal rule that one must hate all the people one's relatives hate—in this case Big Brother CBS and its sponsors. So he insists that the peasants of El Salvador deserve medical aid, even if their government has closed all the clinics. And we lose the *Lou Grant Show*, one of TV's rarest—warm, funny, informative.

Perhaps too informative. One wonders how many toes that show has stepped on, with its talk about dumping outlawed pesticides in the third world, environmental hazards, bottle babies, local scandals and other forbidden topics.

One last great service they did us was May 3rd's unparalleled segment on nuclear war. We owe them a lot of thanks for that alone. And for my part, CBS a lot of avoidance.

I hope *ITT* readers are snowing CBS with protests, and Medical Aid to El

Salvador (Box 3282, Los Angeles, CA 90028) with contributions, so Ed Asner can feel at least that this cause has gained by the risk he took for it.

—M.J. McClurkin
Tacoma Park, Md.

SHOULD, WOULD AND MUST

THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC AGENCY (DA) Conference of April 16-17 was not, as reported in the April 28 issue of *ITT*, a "non-socialist Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) front." If viewed as such, it will inevitably collapse. It can be nothing more nor less than an effort to achieve and implement a Democratic Party program that will present a positive alternative to Reagan's policies.

As expressed by Harrington, it is clear that the widespread disillusionment with the Reagan administration will lead to the Democratic Party coming to power in Congress in 1982 and the presidency in 1984. Without a profound break from its old policy as expressed by the Carter administration, it will not resolve the grave problems facing the nation. The problems are not only affecting the poor and the working people but the whole nation. If the economic and peace issues are not resolved in the interests of the majority of the American people there is grave danger of an increasingly reactionary and oppressive solution. And suppression of opposition to the present policies will threaten our democratic freedoms.

To be successful, the DA cannot be a socialist program in the narrow sense nor "establish a toehold as a continuing left presence in the [Democratic] party." It must be acceptable to a wide coalition from Marxists to small and medium industrialists. It must solve the problem of saving whole communities faced with plant closures. It must establish a program that will stop the drift toward nuclear annihilation while preserving the real security of the nation. The program must include a solution for full employment without inflation. Democratic controls over the critical investment and disinvestment decisions of large corporations can effect an anti-inflationary full employment economy.

Such a program will not be an easy one to enact or put into practice, but the 800 activists who came to the conference are a splendid core for establishing the political apparatus in the communities and the unions to carry this out in California. Such an organization must view candidates not for the purity of their social or political views but for their ability to secure and advance the broad coalition needed to enact the Democratic Agenda.

Democratic Socialists and other socialists question the value of trying to revive a Democratic Party that gave us Carter and his destructive policies. They should consider that democratic socialism will only be achieved by working people and their allies organized to fight for retaining and improving their living standards. In the current situation this will require a process of restructuring the nation's economy. There is no better mechanism in the arena at this time—and for a long time to come—than the Democratic Agenda.

The success of the DA requires a vigorous grassroots movement of pressure within and outside of the Democratic Party. Such a movement would have a life of its own and if the Democratic Party did not respond positively it could well blossom into a third party in ways which we cannot foresee at this time.

—Sam Garnett, Edith Perimutter
Los Angeles, Calif.

DOUBLE BRAVO

MAGDA BOGIN'S PIECE (*ITT*, MAY 5) introducing the American "political poet" Carolyn Forché hit home. Strange how the immediacy of Forché's verse succeeds in communicating a visceral reality of Central American fascism that headline upon editorial cannot. Bravo to *In These Times* for including poetry in its efforts to build a popular movement for socialism. And arcibravo to Forché for condemning "poetry conceived as a luxury by neutrals..." (Gabriel Celaya) Please keep us current on her work.

—Fred Spielberg
Berkeley, Calif.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

RICHARD LICHTMAN'S ARTICLE, "Individualism and Liberty" (*ITT*, March 24) is a beginning, let us hope, for a continuing discussion in the pages of *In These Times* and elsewhere. The centrality of political liberty and individualism to Marxism has been all but forgotten, sometimes even overtly repudiated, by modern movements and societies originally inspired by Marxian and socialist concepts. Even had Lichtman's comments been made at the turn of the century they would have been controversial as a statement in opposition to already existing bureaucratic and authoritarian visions of socialism as a well oiled, efficiently organized mass society that overcomes the restraints capitalism places on the growth of the productive forces. But what were elitist nuances and currents in socialism in earlier days have become in modern times a more profound, sometimes consciously expressed contempt for both political freedom and individualism. Socialism has been largely "machozed" by party officials (and theoreticians) and tendencies that revile "bourgeois democracy" and "bourgeois individual-

ism" for all the wrong reasons—wrong, that is, from the standpoint of a commitment to creating a humane and free society.

Where, historically, Marxists have argued that "bourgeois democracy" is flawed because capitalism places limits on, and sometimes totally denies, basic democratic liberties, this has all too often mindlessly been transformed into a denial of the worth of democratic institutions. Yet a "socialism" that rejects political, cultural and intellectual diversity often becomes a society governed not by a higher form of consciousness but by the truncheon.

Bureaucratic "socialism" in its most extreme form, with its total denial of freedom and individuality is to be seen in the misnamed "Socialist World" where the legacy of Stalinism has been the negation of socialism. There, socialism is presumed to exist because the rule of private capital has been replaced by the rule of a single party that controls the means of production. While that party has truly expropriated the bourgeoisie, it has been no less thorough in politically expropriating the working class. Yet, in a system where the means of production have been nationalized, popular will can be asserted only through politics.

Socialism presupposed democracy and liberty: freely elected governments by freely organized parties, a free press, free trade unions, free cultural and social institutions; it also means freedom for the individual to write, to explore, to experiment, to question and to reject. But in Russia, Lichtman's article could appear only in the underground press and his particularly dangerous heresy would make him a likely candidate for a special cure in a psychiatric cell.

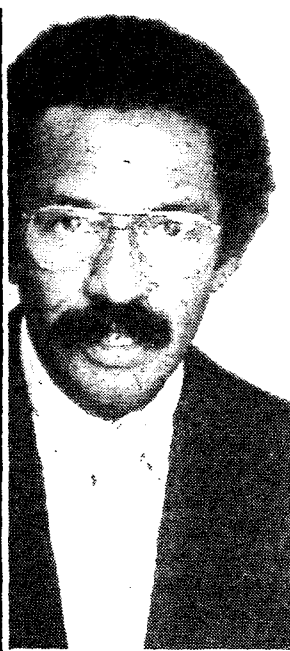
In this letter, I have drawn some of the political conclusions I find implicit in Lichtman's more theoretically posited article. Whether or not he agrees with my specific political extension of his discussion of liberty and individualism I am not sure. In any case, his thoughtful article can serve as the starting point for a broader discussion of the relationship between democracy, individual liberty and socialism.

—Julius Jacobson
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

Disarming is out from under the rug

By Dan Hallin

THE NATIONAL "AGENDA-setters" who decide the shape of daily news coverage are in fact for the most part agenda-takers. They report what is at issue in Washington. And in Washington, until very recently, nuclear disarmament has been a distinctly secondary priority, something to worry about after "windows of vulnerability" have been patched and the Soviets taught to "behave themselves" in Central America.

But in the past few weeks a grassroots movement, deeper than any since the last years of the Vietnam war, has placed the arms race squarely at the center of the media's and the country's political agenda. Springing up at a time when conventional wisdom portrayed the public as firmly supportive of a hard-line foreign policy, the peace movement has, with remarkable speed, forced the mainstream of American journalism to take seriously an issue it had left for dead since the later days of the Carter administration.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency had been prepared for Ground Zero's week of education on the dangers of nuclear war with a plan for an elaborate media campaign to counter the "growing stridency and hysteria" of the peace movement and prevent "the eruption of the issue of nuclear war."

In a memorandum to the White House, leaked to the *Washington Post* earlier this

month, the Agency predicted, "The press and electronic media will be full of demagoguery and emotion as journalists hungrily interview tearful mothers and self-righteously indignant clergymen against a mushroom cloud background."

The memorandum went on to propose a schedule of public relations activities designed to blunt the impact of Ground Zero. The plan included interviews and appearances by officials and administration supporters to be granted to the media, "op-ed" pieces to be placed in major newspapers, and numerous "photo opportunities," each designed to project an appropriate image. Among the photo opportunities:

- President and Mrs. Reagan at Camp David: spring flowers—atmosphere of calm.
- The president meets with a moderate women's group in the Oval Office—press release describes president's concern and attention to their expressed anxieties about war, etc.
- President invites small group (3-5) of Ground Zero Week leaders (thoroughly screened) to the Oval Office for discussion (no White House-under-seige a la Nixon).

The plan was apparently never approved by the White House. In any case, the issue of nuclear war has indeed erupted into the national consciousness in the wake of Ground Zero Week.

"When we first started this thing," says Ellis Woodward, who handles media relations for Ground Zero, "as we were thinking about what the media would do with it, we had a low confidence factor. Arms control is a complicated business, when you start examining SALT versus START versus freeze." But on their coverage of Ground Zero week, Woodward added, "I would give the media high marks."

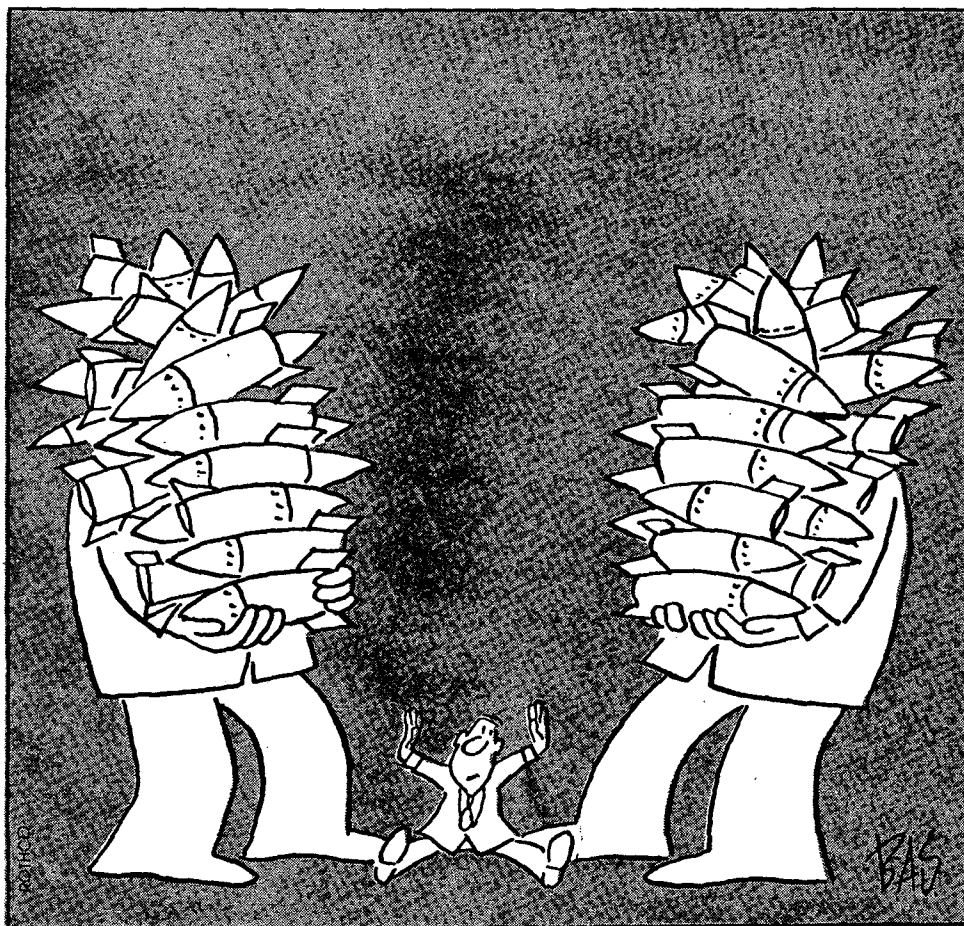
If Woodward had any complaints, they were about network television. "The evening television programs tended to cover Ground Zero like a presidential campaign, trying to count noses," he said. "If only 300 people showed up at an event, they concluded that that was disappointing, but they didn't add up the aggregate. When we add up the aggregate based on field reports we had nearly a million people participate directly in educational events during Ground Zero week."

And indeed, Dan Rather introduced one CBS report on Ground Zero with the observation that "a chess game across from the White House drew more on-lookers today than a Ground Zero demonstration protesting the horrors of nuclear war." The report that followed, though, was substantial and generally sympathetic, stressing the breadth of support for the peace movement and the extent of its impact on the politicians who, according to California pollster Mervin Field, were "running fast to get ahead" of an "unusual, spontaneous grassroots movement." These two themes, the breadth and the impact of the movement, dominated most news coverage, both in television and the press.

The "soft" treatment.

The peace movement has not, for the most part, been front page news, even during the heavy coverage of Ground Zero week. *The New York Times* that week had only a single front page story. It has been treated, in the journalist's jargon, as "soft" rather than "hard" news—more as a "human interest" than a political story, something to do as a feature on the metro page or the morning news.

But this kind of feature coverage, which has been encouraged by the low-



key style the peace movement has adopted so far—with more emphasis on educational events and grassroots organizing than on large-scale "media events"—may in some ways have worked to the movement's advantage. It has meant that the movement has been treated as something different from politics as usual, more honest and closer to the people. And in some cases it has also meant unusually extensive coverage of the substance of the arms control issue.

"The media," as Woodward puts it, "generally cover events rather than ideas." But in a feature story the constraints are looser, and the peace movement has been fairly successful at getting the media to report not merely what celebrities showed up at the rally, but what ideas were put across.

"Why the outcry now?" asks a Ground Zero report in the Sunday Metro section of the *Sacramento Bee*. The response comes from a series of peace activists. "Under this administration," explains Derek Casady, an activist in the freeze campaign, "we've had talk that nuclear war is winnable." The *Bee* went on to report in detail Casady's views, along with those of his wife Nancy and several other activists, in a two-part special report on the peace movement that closed out its Ground Zero coverage.

The movement so far seems to have had a particularly strong impact on local media. "Local papers," says Woodward, "on the whole did a good job, especially in terms of exploring the issue of what would happen if the bomb dropped on Indianapolis or Seattle." Interviews with activists around the country confirmed that the local media, from the largest metropolitan outlets to the small rural and neighborhood papers were for the most part extremely responsive to Ground Zero.

In conservative Dallas, for example, the *Morning News* devoted its entire Focus section on the Sunday before Ground Zero week to the arms control issue.

In Minnesota, according to Ground Zero organizer Mike Andregg, local papers in the 50 or so towns where Ground Zero activities took place gave those activities good play, while in Minneapolis-St. Paul television station WCCO, and the CBS affiliate, is preparing a major documentary on the peace movement.

In Portland, Ore., one cable television channel provided eight hours a day of

nuclear issue programming during Ground Zero week, and Ground Zero's poster provided the cover for Liberty Cable's program guide. In Portland, too, the week's activities seemed to have a lasting impact on the local press. "The *Oregonian* is a very conservative paper," said Martha Sheppard, a Ground Zero activist there, "and we felt that at the end of the week they were finally beginning to come around. As we watched the week following, we saw the articles on the nuclear issue move closer to the front of the paper."

This evident success in putting the nuclear question on the national agenda has already contributed to a major shift in administration policy—or at the very least in administration rhetoric.

"They've been attempting to sweep arms control under the rug as long as possible," says Ben Schiff, a political scientist and arms control specialist at Oberlin College. "They've been talking about nuclear superiority, about negotiating from strength. They haven't considered arms control as a potentially serious contribution to national security. But they've been under enormous pressure domestically and internationally. They've looked pretty silly not having a policy when this is what their allies and their opponents are talking about. So they had to do something."

It's entirely possible, of course, that the administration's recent arms control overtures are little more than an attempt to regain the initiative politically. "I'm wary of saying Reagan has radically shifted his position," says Schiff. "It could turn out there's nothing in [the Reagan proposals] that's really negotiable. It could be a return to '50s-style arms negotiations, in which both sides are essentially engaged in a propaganda battle."

But even if the Reagan proposals do prove to be little more than a public relations effort, the very fact that they were made is likely to cement the arms control issue firmly at the top of the scale of national priorities. The administration has continued what the peace movement began: It has made arms control a front page story. And now that the nuclear issue has "erupted," the pressure on the administration to produce substantial results can be expected to grow.

Dan Hallin teaches communications and political science at the University of California, San Diego.

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PERSPECTIVES

The business of America is arms

By David Goodman

RECENTLY DISCLOSED material from unpublished closed meetings called MOBEX 80, Partners in Preparedness—shows that the Pentagon and its allies are gearing up to sell the "rearmament" program as an essential part of President Reagan's economic "recovery" package.

The Partners meetings addressed one of the hottest issues within the military industrial complex—the alleged inability of our industrial base to respond in a timely and sustained manner in the event of a protracted war. Sponsored by the Army, Partners in Preparedness brought together the cream of the corporate and military elite in November 1980 and May 1981 to fashion a rough consensus on how to divide up a rapidly expanding military pie, and to develop ground rules for enhancing cooperation between industry and the military.

A "Draft Plan for the Improvement of the Industrial Base Responsiveness," organized under eight objectives, has emerged from these meetings. Each objective lists the national security benefit, specific actions the Partners can take, and institutions (e.g., Congress, Department of Commerce, Department of Interior) where the desired change can be effected. The summary of the plan asserts:

"The industrial base requires a climate within which it can revitalize itself and regain a leadership position in the international community. The creation of that climate will require initiatives in areas such as incentives for capital investment, developing skilled labor and improving our critical materials posture.... The barriers which inhibit easy entry into the defense sector must be removed, a greater degree of stability must be imposed on defense programs, and changes must be made in areas such as determination of profits, acquisition regulations and the use of commercial specifications/components."

The plan calls for accelerated tax depreciation and encouraging capital investment by extending tax credits and reducing corporate tax rates. It calls for the enactment of HR 745, which would establish a policy "for improved and more flexible contracting procedures for the Department of Defense," to liberalize Pentagon use of multi-year procurement contracts and guarantee contractors will be on the Pentagon dole for years to come. Other provisions include tax incentives for industry-sponsored technical training programs and "contract protection" for "unforeseeable risks which are beyond contractor control such as energy costs." Regulatory relief is sought in order to open up public lands for strategic mineral exploration and to "simplify" regulatory processes regarding expansion of domestic production of strategic minerals. The plan urges that all social and environmental regulations (OSHA, EPA, Small Business provisions, etc.) affecting military production be reviewed and relief requested "where appropriate." Finally, the plan advocates a process to identify regulations and procedures that hinder rapid procurement of materials and "establish a top down system of waivers" from requirements for times of crisis.

The development of the Partners Plan has been in the works since November 1980, when corporate executives first met

with top Army brass in sessions focused on: industrial mobilization and planning, materials and industrial technology development and how to deal with shortages of skilled labor.

To whet corporate appetites, Army organizers drew up a set of questions for each session: "Should the federal government be responsible for construction to expand facilities to satisfy mobilization needs, to fund it and to perform the engineering and construction? ...What kind of financial or legislative incentives are required to motivate industry to invest in new facilities and to generally expand the industrial base? ...To what extent would the diversion of industrial supplies from commercial to defense production ease the problem of raw materials? ...President Carter has programmed \$2.4 billion for use in youth employment training programs. How can we best use these funds?"

The list of 25 corporate participants reads like a business Who's Who: Rand Asakog, chairman and chief executive officer (CEO) represented IT&T, Thornton Wilson, CEO, Boeing, James Renier, president, Honeywell, Paul Bergmoser, president, Chrysler, John Opel, president, IBM, John Richardson, president, Hughes Aircraft, William Renner, president, ALCOA and Edward Hood, vice chairman, General Electric.

Representing the Partners hosts were 20 Army officers, including Gen. E.C. Meyer, Chief of Staff, Gen. John Guthrie, commanding general of the U.S. Army Material Development and Readiness Command, Percy A. Pierre, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research, Development and Acquisition and Lt. Gen. Robert G. Yerks, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel.

Industrial preparedness.

The final report from the November sessions called for "a clear statement of national policy concerning the need for industrial preparedness to support mobilization or other crisis situations...."

Drawing from the November session, recommendations of the Defense Science Board and hearings of the House Armed Services Committee, the Department of Defense developed the "Plan for Improvement of Industrial Base Responsiveness." The chief objectives of the follow-up meeting of May 27 and 28, 1981, were to obtain ratification of these plans by the corporate "partners" and to "inform new government, Department of Defense [DOD] and Department of Army principals about the industrial base problems and potential solutions."

New military and government principals joining the May Partners meeting included President Reagan's then National Security Advisor Richard Allen, who headed a delegation of seven high-ranking federal officials, ranging from the Office of Management and Budget to the Departments of Labor and Commerce. The Department of Defense sent seven top administrators. John March, secretary of the Army, joined Army participants from the November meeting. Dan Daniel (D-Va.) and Newton Gingrich (R-Ga.), members of the House, received invitations, along with staff members from both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees.

Swelling the corporate ranks at the follow-up meeting were Laurence Adams, president of the Aerospace Division of Martin Marietta, Richard Boileau, president of General Dynamics, and Joseph Califiuri, vice president of Litton Indus-

tries. Many interested companies were turned away.

The Army planners also declined to invite any trade union representatives, even though the shortage of skilled labor was one of the three central problems to be explored. According to the planners, the idea of including trade unions at the November meeting came up "too late."

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) would have been a logical choice. It has more members involved in military production than any other union. Before the May meeting Richard Greenwood, special assistant to IAM president William Winpisinger, called the Pentagon expressing interest in the Partners meeting. Greenwood was informed that he could see the printed material from the May meeting whenever that became available. The IAM never received an invitation. "I haven't seen or heard anything since," says Greenwood.

Partners organizers believed the presence of labor at these meetings could be potentially divisive and distracting. They were right. The two main recommendations for solving labor shortages were to explore replacing workers with robots and computers where possible, and to bypass established shop-floor apprenticeship programs that involve trade unions and expand vocation school and college training. Both measures would strengthen corporations at the expense of labor.

As one CEO put it, Partners was a huge success. "I give them very high marks for having listened. I give them very high marks for having put together an action plan." Now, explains Lt. Col. Richardson, "we put the monkey on our back, and we have to show them that we can produce. But now everyone up and down the line in the DOD is on board. We have cooperation."

The military bureaucracy has been revving up. Partners helped inspire a full-time joint DOD task force for Improving Industrial Responsiveness whose mandate is to develop and implement new streamlined guidelines. A group of contract specialists is rewriting DOD procurement procedures.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci set forth a 31-point memo that urges the DOD and industry to assume "a new spirit of cooperation" and eliminate "adversarial" relations. The Defense Science Board, composed primarily of House and Senate Armed Service Committee members and corporate contractors, is pushing a 20 percent profit margin as appropriate in the "current business environment"—a rate of return generous enough to make even oil companies envious.

One Partners recommendation has already become public policy. Under-Secretary of Defense Fred C. Ickle announced in August 1981 that the Pentagon is committing more than \$500 million annually over the next several years to help

weapons contractors prepare to swing rapidly into wartime production. The Pentagon is considering a full range of financial and other incentives to build increased defense preparedness.

Implementation of the Partners' Plan for Improvement of Industrial Base Responsiveness would put the U.S. industrial base on a permanent war footing, fundamentally alter the relationship between business and labor, gut health, safety and environmental regulations and shift people, materials and funds from civilian work to military—all in the name of national security.

The stakes are tremendous. How big? In mid-July 1981, about six weeks after the Partners meeting, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger dramatically announced that he was directing the armed services to prepare a plan to enable them to absorb half the gross national product (almost \$3 trillion last year) annually in the event of war and to assess what they would need to double or triple the defense budget "in a crisis or major shift in the world situation."

The Partners plan emphasizes that a "sensible, effective industrial preparedness program...should be articulated convincingly to the public and to Congress." The Pentagon is putting the finishing touches on the program right now. However, you can bet all your military stocks that the Partners plan will not be packaged as the corporate bonanza that it clearly is. It will be sold as "rearming America."

David Goodman is a writer for NARMIC, a project of the American Friends Service Committee. Tom Schlesinger provided information for this article.



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ESSAYS

Nuclear death-in-life

The Fate of the Earth
By Jonathan Schell
Knopf, 244 pp., \$11.95

By Lawrence Weschler

A commonplace of modern life has long held nuclear war to be "unthinkable," but only recently have we begun to see this unthinkability as an active, continuous process. "To unthink" is a verb, indeed the defining verb of our condition. We unthink the possibility of nuclear holocaust (the suffering it would inevitably entail and the extinction that it might) at every moment of our lives.

It is one of the particular virtues of Jonathan Schell's remarkable (and remarkably controversial) treatise that he both exposes the cost of this continuous unthinking and summons us to the possibility of its transcendence.

His essay has been published in exactly the form it appeared in *The New Yorker* in February, in three sections. Part I begins with an intensely respectful meditation (a profound respect for the reader permeates the entire piece), a meditation on why our thinking tends to shrink away from the prospect of nuclear war and why we should nevertheless persevere in the proposed exploration. There then follows a quick, clean course in elementary physics—how the bomb works—and a wrenching survey of the history of its only use to date, based on the testimony of survivors, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Then Schell thoroughly analyzes the kind of successive damage we might expect were a nuclear war ever to begin. He starts by imagining the detonation of a one-megaton bomb 8500 feet above the Empire State building in Manhattan, and systematically catalogs the devastating succession of effects—the initial blast, the thermal pulse and the ensuing firestorm, the radioactive fallout and its attendant sicknesses, the outbreak of secondary epidemics, the collapse of health and food support systems and presently of the entire world economy, and finally the collapse of the delicate ozone layer in the upper atmosphere that currently shields all life on earth from withering solar radiation.

The deliberate prose is interspersed with occasional passages of startling immediacy. "Sight and smell permit animals to find their way in the environment," Schell notes while contemplating the possible collapse of the ozone layer, "and to fulfill the roles mapped out for them by nature, and the loss of sight would throw the environment into disarray as billions of blinded beasts, insects and birds began to stumble through the world."

There is something almost darkly comic about reading this section. At each stage you assume that since you're still turning the page, you must be surviving this particular phase of the devastation (Schell gives an ex-

cruciating sense of how hard it is to survive, what you have had to leave behind). But no sooner are you up, dusting off your tattered imaginary self than another calamitous wave is upon you. Somehow you persist, and then, like a giant black punchline, the ozone layer collapses, frying whatever survivors remain in fierce ultraviolet radiation, and it turns out that your entire struggle was worthless after all. And for what?

Schell is careful to note that there are no grounds for saying with certainty that a fullscale nuclear holocaust would necessarily lead to the extinction of human life on this planet; neither, however, are there grounds for saying that it would not. And "although scientifically speaking, there is all the difference in the world between the mere possibility that a holocaust will bring about extinction and the certainty of it, morally they are the same [if we lost the gamble, there would be no second chance] and we have no choice but to address the issue of nuclear weapons as though we knew for a certainty that their use would put an end to our species."

Death as a way of life.

With this assertion, Schell lays the groundwork for Part II, "The Second Death," the most important section of the book and its truly original contribution—a meditation on the significance of extinction, what it means that human society is preparing its own extinction and doesn't seem to be able to stop doing so. Schell insists that there is today but one truly serious political problem, and that is extinction; everything else comes afterward.

Some critics have smirkingly dismissed this section in terms of "Extinction, good idea or bad." To them the value of survival is obvious and self-evident. It is one of Schell's most profound and troubling insights that this self-evidence has now become illusory. Otherwise we wouldn't be in this fix. It is rather extinction today that is self-evident. Survival has to be *argued for*. Questions that once constituted mere philosophical diversions—would the world exist if no one were here to experience it?—have now become fraught with urgency.

Schell has the audacity to ask who actually would suffer extinction. Would it matter to anyone if mankind did become extinct? Certainly it wouldn't matter to us, since we wouldn't be here anymore. Nor would it matter to our progeny, since they would never come to be born anyway.

Schell discovers that survival itself—the passing of the gift and grace of life from one generation to the next—is the core value of human existence. The answer to the question, "Who suffers extinction?" is that we, in the present, suffer it through its pervasive anticipation, in how its prospect parches the very possibility of value in our lives.

"We have begun to live *as if* life were safe, but living *as if* is very different from just living," he writes. "A split opens up between what we know and what we feel.... Before long, denial of reality becomes a habit—a dominant mode in the life of society—and unresponsiveness becomes a way of life."

Thereafter (and this section

and loneliness of our shaky, dreamlike, twilight world."

Some of Schell's most trenchant observations are reserved for his portrait of political life, where "we are encouraged not to tackle our predicament but to inure ourselves to it.... 'Realism' is the title given to beliefs whose most notable characteristic is the failure to recognize the chief reality of the age, the pit into which our species threatens to jump; 'utopian' is the term of scorn for any plan that shows serious promise of enabling the species to keep from killing itself



We spend too much time not thinking about nuclear horror (above, Nagasaki after the atomic bomb), says author Schell.

from pp. 147 to 178 is the most original and poignant in the book—if you don't buy the book, at least read these pages at your bookstore), Schell performs an inventory of the various layers of human existence in the present, showing how each is blighted by the prospect of extinction. "The approach of extinction drives love back into its perishable moment and, in doing so, tends to break up love's longer attachments, which now on top of all the usual vicissitudes, have the whole world's jeopardy to bear."

Moving from the life of individuals to that of communities, Schell notes that "the cohesion of the social realm...is disintegrating, and people seem to be drifting apart and into a weird isolation. The compensation that is offered is the license to enjoy life in the moment with fewer restrictions; but the present moment and its pleasures provide only a poor refuge from the emptiness

challenge in whatever small way.

"At present, most of us do nothing. We look away. We remain calm. We are silent. We take refuge in the hope that the holocaust won't happen, and turn back to our individual concerns. But if once we shook off our lethargy and fatigue and began to act, the climate would change. Just as inertia produces despair—a despair often so deep that it does not even know itself as despair—arousal and action would give us access to hope, and life would start to mend: not just life in its entirety but daily life, every individual life. At that point we would begin to withdraw from our role as both the victims and the perpetrators of mass murder. We would no longer be the destroyers of mankind but, rather, the gateway through which the future generations would enter the world. Then the walls of indifference, inertia and coldness that now isolate each of us from others, and all of us from the past and future generations, would melt, like snow in spring."

Which brings us to Part III, "The Choice," where Schell argues against the hegemony of experts and on behalf of the potential political clout of ordinary people. This is the most problematic section of the book, as many critics have noted. In the first half of Part III, Schell does something few other nuclear critics have taken the time to do: He carefully examines the deterrent theory. He demonstrates that it is logically flawed—fatally so—on its own terms. Since, as Schell points out, "one cannot credibly deter a first strike with a second strike whose *raison d'être* dissolves the moment the first strike arrives," the entire structure of deterrence turns out to be built upon a miasma.

But now comes the problem, because the alternative Schell propounds is almost equally miasmic. It's not so much that Schell's logic in the last 20 pages of his book is deficient. Rather, it's that the outcome is so outrageously demanding as to seem virtually useless.

Schell argues that it is not enough to dismantle all nuclear weapons. We must also dismantle all conventional weapons and indeed all national boundaries. The existence of the *knowledge* of how to build nuclear weapons, Schell argues, has rendered war (even conventional war between foes who start out without nuclear weapons but soon face incredible pressures to reintroduce them)—has rendered war

Denial of reality has become a way of life among us, and we live in weird isolation.

(if it is 'utopian' to want to survive, then it must be 'realistic' to be dead.)"

Return of passion.

Then Schell recovers hope, light and the possibility of worth. He provides the antinuclear movement with a way out of one of its principal conundrums—how to mobilize people to fight a fate so horrible that its very consideration tends to immobilize, to freeze us in our tracks. Focus, he suggests, not on the fear but on the hope—not on how horrible your life might be at some abstract point in the future, but rather on how much richer it could be immediately, *right now*, if only you would take on the

itself obsolete. And nation states, he argues, thus lose their principal organizing expediency. Conversely, the only way to guarantee that there will be no nuclear wars is to establish some sort of world government.

Getting there from here.

At this point, the argument turns very odd indeed. If those really are the only choices, then maybe it's hopeless after all. Only I am not so sure about Schell's characterization of the choice. I am for starters not certain that I am a pacifist at all costs—even though I hold virtually any loss of life over issues of "national sovereignty" to be immoral. There are also, after all, issues

such as class oppression and liberation from imperialist exploitation that may not be amenable to solution in a world government. Also, I am not entirely convinced that a world with a sense of future could not be contrived, in the intermediate term, out of a world that still sanctioned national frontiers. Surely we must work toward radical and immediate disarmament by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, even if we can't yet imagine or frame a world governmental system. The future would have a qualitatively different aspect, even though nation-states still existed, if no nation had more than, say, 10 nuclear warheads. Then again, war (and even the use of nuclear weapons) might then be more likely since massive assured destruction would no longer serve as a deterrence. The force of Schell's logic comes

surging back, stronger than ever: Maybe we do have to get rid of all weapons, all nation-states... But how do we do it?

Here Schell suddenly comes up quite lame. He has not, he tells us, "worked out the practical steps by which mankind, acting for the first time in history as a single entity, can reorganize its political life. I have left to others that awesome, urgent task which, imposed by history, constitutes the political work of our age."

"Well, gee, thanks," has come the howling chorus from smug critics both on the left and the right. And there is something tremendously deflating in this sudden abdication on Schell's part. And yet, he never intended with this book to provide a masterplan for sequential disarmament. Rather, *The Fate of the Earth* constitutes the crucial pro-

legomenon to the search for such a solution.

Some critics on the left, notably Alexander Cockburn, have scored Schell for failing to ground his argument ideologically, assigning the preponderance of the blame for the current crisis to the American military-industrial establishment's voracious appetite for capital expansion. Without such a focus, they claim, both the book and the movement may prove "vaporous" fads. And yet surely Schell is correct in insisting that if the antinuclear movement is to have any chance of success it will have to transcend hardened (and out-moded) left-right distinctions.

Another factor helps account for the strange tone of the book's last pages. *The Fate of the Earth*, the culmination of five years' work, came barreling toward completion during 1981. During

the last stages of his work, when he was working on Part III, Schell, like many of us, was fascinated with and heartened by the extraordinary example of the workers' movement in Poland. He composed several excellent brief pieces on Solidarity for the *New Yorker's* "Notes and Comment" column. Thus, for example, on April 13, 1981, he suggested that the Poles had transcended the perennial revolutionary quandary about ends and means.

"They appear to have discovered nothing less than a new principle of action. It is simply to be what you want to become. Thus, if you want to have free elections, begin by freely electing someone. If you want to have a trade union, found a trade union. The Poles have discovered that if enough people act this way, the very foundations of the unwanted

government begin to dissolve, even while it retains a monopoly on the means of violence."

Surely Schell perceived in Solidarity a model for the kind of empowered and democratic polity that might aspire to "the reinvention of politics" that he feels must come as a prelude to disarmament.

The brutal suppression of Solidarity on Dec. 13, 1981, was therefore a terrible blow to Schell's line of argument at the very moment that it was being rushed into publication. Phrased another way, *The Fate of the Earth* might not have seemed so idealistic in a world in which Solidarity was still succeeding. The book itself is in mourning. ■

Lawrence Weschler, a staff writer at *The New Yorker*, is the author of *Solidarity: Poland in the Season of its Passion*.

POLICY

Sex and the military

Mixed Company

By Helen Rogan

Putnam, 333 pp., \$14.95

Loaded Questions

Wendy Chapkis, ed.

Transnational Institute,

98 pp., \$4.95

By Brett Harvey

Can the presence of women in the U.S. Army reform and humanize it? Can women in the military ever be more than the pawns of international, male-dominated military organizations such as NATO? These two questions are posed by two very different books on women in the military. *Mixed Company* explores women's experience in the U.S. Army, based on interviews with recruits, officers, West Point cadets, veterans WACs and others. *Loaded Questions* assembles essays by feminist peace activists, the result of a conference in Amsterdam last spring.

Although Rogan dips in and out of the history of women in the military and the philosophical arguments for and against women in combat, the meat of her book is the experience of being a woman in military life. And a more frustrating experience is difficult to imagine. Every aspect of women's integration into Army life is fraught with sexism. Uniforms are inexplicably cotton (men's are wash-and-wear) requiring endless ironing; improperly designed "female" boots cause shin splints, fallen arches and stress fractures; Army policies channel women into "service" occupations: nursing, communications and clerical work.

Tough, competent, military-minded women are the objects of lesbian witch-hunts, while women who cling to their femininity are the objects of relentless sexual innuendo and harassment. Women in the military are denied free abortions, but those who get pregnant are used as examples of women's unsuitability for military life. Women who dare to venture into nontraditional fields are seen as taking jobs away from men; those who end up with desk jobs are accused of "getting over."

"Nobody wants you to succeed," says one recruit. "If you're a woman and you're good, you don't get praise. All

you get is more work. And the men—they always make everything come down to women in the Army, why are there women in the Army?"

The first class of female cadets at West Point were routinely greeted, "Hi, whore," by male upperclassmen, condoms stuffed with shaving cream put in their beds, obscene slogans written on their walls and vibrators sent to them in the mail. Upperclassmen visited them in their rooms at night and assaulted them sexually.

Rogan's chapter on the WACs provides a fascinating comparison. Founded in 1942, the Women's Army Corps was to provide skilled women to free more men for combat in World War II. WACs worked in conventional and unconventional jobs, from clerical work to airplane mechanics. In spite of male hostility, paternalism, confusion about their role and a slander campaign accusing them of promiscuity, they performed brilliantly. After the war, the WAC faded from public view until the '70s, when the new, all-volunteer Army began to run into manpower difficulties.

The WAC expanded steadily until 1979, when it was "disestablished." In the interim, however, it seems to have been a small, self-contained, predominantly gay world, in which the women had at least an illusion of real power. Although the WAC was vulnerable to frequent lesbian witch-hunts, a spirit of intense camaraderie prevailed among the gay officers and troops until disestablishment forced them back into the closet.

Power and service.

Ultimately, Rogan's position seems naive and contradictory. She argues that, with the acceptance of women into the military, "maybe the profession of warrior will vanish altogether and the mystique with it...so that the division into combat and non-combat troops will have a more precise, less pejorative meaning and the heroic ideal will take on a new shape." At the same time she acknowledges that in the military, "the ability to be violent is what ultimately determines the distribution of power. Once women have that power and once they are required to serve alongside their men...there will

be a balance in the Army and in society at large."

This position is shot down, as are most arguments for women's participation in the military, by the authors of *Loaded Questions*. In her essay "Militarization/Civilianization," Lesley Merryfinch points out that the recruitment of more women into the military as part of a "civilianization" strategy is "a public relations exercise to enhance the image of the military in societies that are attempting to adopt values calling into question the most oppressive features of the military ethos." Nira Yuval-Davis exposes the myth of women's equality in the Israeli army. Although Israel's is the first army to which women are recruited on the basis of a national recruitment law, it defines the female soldier's role as an auxiliary one, aimed at re-

leasing male soldiers for combat and "raising morale."

In "The Peaceful Sex," Astrid Albrecht-Heide discusses the two ways in which women relate to the military, which she calls "a male-bonding institution of specialists on violence." One group seeks to identify with male symbols of power (uniforms, weapons, subordination and command). The other, socialized to the nurturing roles, is drawn to the "service occupations" (clerical, administrative, communications, nursing), believing "they can perform nurturing functions inside the military without contradictions and conflicts."

Cynthia Enloe analyzes NATO's interest in the role of women in the military, pointing out that NATO itself "provides a structure in which governments' defense strategists can exchange information on a systematic and confidential basis." The shortage of male military recruits and pressure from liberal segments of the women's movement have prompted the NATO allies to

watch closely experiments with integrating women into the military in the U.S. and the Netherlands, which recently became the first country to assign women to combat roles on a voluntary basis. Other articles deal with women as freedom fighters, with the "Private Benjamin Syndrome" and the effect of NATO on women's lives all over the globe.

The key difference between the two books is this: The passionate concern that informs nearly every page of *Loaded Questions* is the threat of extinction by nuclear holocaust posed by militarism, and the need for women to oppose that threat. In *Mixed Company*, that view is expressed by a lone woman, a general in the Nurse Corps who snaps, "My dear, if we have another war it's going to be of such magnitude that there ain't going to be any question about anybody's role." ■

Brett Harvey is a Brooklyn writer whose work has appeared in *The Village Voice*.



ART & ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

By Richard Fox

American social analysts have been irresistibly drawn to the small town in the 20th century. It was not just that the small town provided a convenient microcosm of the larger society, a manageable mirror in which to discern the complex forces shaping industrial America. It was also that the small town symbolized the world we had lost—of the pre-industrial society of homogeneous communities, close-knit families, mythic *Ge-meinschaft*.

Robert and Helen Lynd's *Middletown* (1929) was a path-breaking work. It immediately struck many of their contemporaries as a revelation, because it synthesized both assumptions about the small town. Muncie, Ind., was for them (and especially for Robert, a native of Indiana) both moral symbol and social scientific laboratory.

Fifty years after *Middletown* Peter Davis' team of filmmakers returned to Muncie to examine the same six segments of American life analyzed by the Lynds: work, family, education, leisure, religion and government. The series, recently aired on PBS (with the exception of the education episode, withdrawn because of threatened lawsuits), is a remarkable achievement in cultural analysis. Yet it provides a stark contrast to the Lynds' work, on which it claims to be modeled.

The Lynds' overriding goal was to understand the community of Muncie as a whole—and to grasp the character of the change Muncie had undergone during the previous generation. The Davis group, by contrast, pays no attention to the history of the town and, with the exception of the film on politics, no attention to the question of what makes Muncie a community. Instead the films systematically narrow their focus to the level of individuals and families. That approach, they demonstrate, can produce memorable films about the American experience. But it avoids the question of how and to what degree individuals and families come together to form a community.

For the Lynds, studying Muncie meant examining the town's central institutions—factories and businesses, churches and clubs, government and newspapers, schools and families—in relation both to individual experience and to national, transformative influences such as advertising and new technology (especially movies and the automobile). Their fundamental category was class—the split between business and working classes in Muncie, and the split between the provincial world of Muncie and the aggressive, corporate, urban world that was refashioning the Muncies of the nation in its own image.

Most of the Davis team's reality is contained within the family experience. Few of the films' subjects seem even to be aware that they are living in Muncie; they could be living anywhere in the U.S. None of the films' subjects has any sense of being rooted in Muncie's past. Lacking a



In *COMMUNITY OF PRAISE* religion is not a social phenomenon but a tie that binds the family together.

The missing community in Middletown

common past or a common present, they shuffle by one another in their isolated quests for survival and fulfillment.

Could Davis be telling us that community networks no longer exist in Muncie? The town may be no more than a geographic locus. It may inspire no loyalty, elicit no commitment, define no one's identity. There may be no institutional or cultural structures that tie people specifically to the town.

But the best of the five films—a stunning account of the mayoral campaign of 1979—explodes that theory. *The Campaign* follows the Lynds' example by taking the whole community for its subject. Each of the other films, however—including *The Big Game*, which purports to study community leisure—in fact restricts its scope to individuals and families. In the end we are left with another version of the celebration of the American family, to which so many commentators in the '70s gave free rein.

It is not an uncritical celebration. *Middletown* families are not harmonious havens; they are fragile and full of strife. But the overall message is that Middle-

town's individuals owe their survival to the family. They will make it or break it in the future in the family. That may be true, but it still begs the question of what conscious or unconscious networks link families together, and what barriers divide them.

The Campaign, directed by Tom Cohen (the sound man for Davis' *Hearts and Minds*), is an eloquent study of the battle between Alan Wilson and Jim Carey—the Protestant Republican lawyer and the Irish Catholic sheriff—for the mayor's office. The film moves effortlessly back and forth from the individuals to the community. Wilson sings in a starchy, methodical church choir; Carey joins in a black congregation's swaying hymns. Wilson sips punch at a Republican ladies' tea; Carey slaps backs at a working-class gathering while balancing a beer in his other hand. Carey kisses everyone in sight, including one dazed gentleman; Wilson recoils from physical contact. Carey is the consummate actor, toast-maker, flesh-presser, but an aura of corruption trails behind him; Wilson is the straight-arrow professional man who loathes the human side of politics, yet is honest,

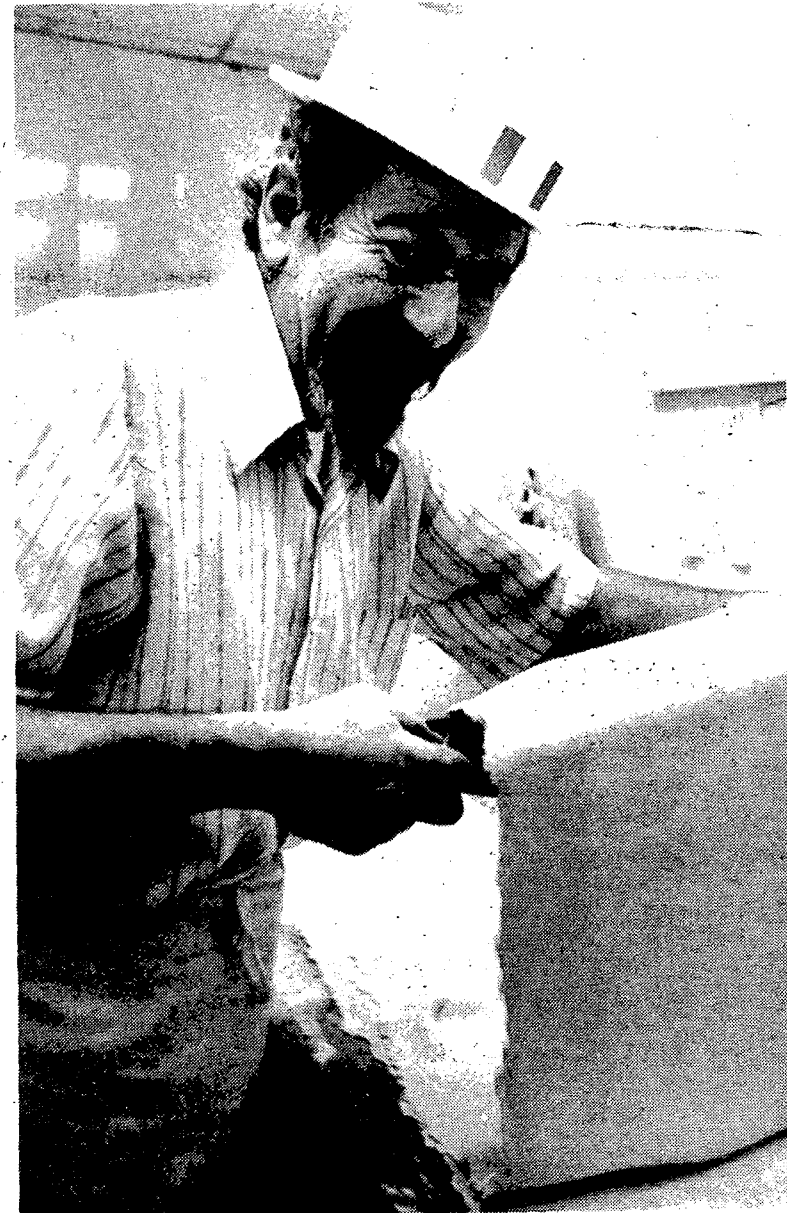
hard-working, a competent manager. He ekes out the win.

As *The Campaign* develops, we realize that we are immersed in the social structures that define Middletown. Like the Lynds, Cohen has placed us in a community firmly divided between a business and a working class. But there is actually, as the Lynds also noted, no overt conflict between the classes. The political campaign allows everyone to give ritual expression to class differences in social vision, cultural values and personal taste, while celebrating the commitment of both groups to the prosperous future of the town. No one expects the election to make a difference in the distribution of community power. The upper-middle class high school students discussing Carey's visit to their school express their contempt for him and his values ("He looks like a thug," one observes thoughtfully), but they don't fear the consequences of a Carey win. Working-class blacks and whites praise his concern for the poor and his obvious pleasure in meeting people

neither about the community nor about leisure. It is about two basketball stars—Rick Rowray of Muncie Central and Andre Dawson of Anderson High—their coaches and their families. Director E.J. Vaughn tells us several times that high school basketball provokes heated commitment in Muncie, but unlike Tom Cohen he never shows us the community committing itself.

Rowray is white and Dawson is black, as are their respective teams, yet the film never examines the place of basketball, sport in general, or Rowray and

Some scenes make riveting drama of domestic strife and family survival.



Howie Snider's family business reveals the frailty of the dream of being your own boss.

of all stripes, but they do not believe a Carey victory will change things. One working-class man gives him an articulate recounting of his neighborhood's problem with corporate pollution, listens patiently to Carey's promises about cleaning it up, and then calmly informs us that he has heard it all before and still doesn't believe it.

Out of context.

After *The Campaign*, the first film broadcast, the community focus evaporates. *The Big Game*, ostensibly an examination of community leisure, is

Dawson as individuals, in their communities. The primary function of basketball in the film is to provide upward mobility—and a ticket out of Muncie—for both Rowray and Dawson. The film almost completely abstracts the two individuals from their social and cultural context.

The film is all the more disappointing in view of the Lynds' ground-breaking work on the rise of mass leisure and a hedonistic consumer ethic. *The Big Game* is in fact a study not of leisure but of the work ethic—Rowray's and Dawson's production on the court, their coaches

pre-occupation with disciplined effort and with their own survival in a coaching profession keyed to one-year contracts. The Middletown film series provides no insight at all into what Muncie's residents do with their leisure, a startling omission by contrast to the Lynds.

The third film, *Community of Praise* by Richard Leacock and Marisa Silver, is a much more successful effort but it considers religion only as a familial experience, not as a social phenomenon. Religion for the Lynds was one of the most powerful forces tying Muncie's residents together. They did not approve of the conservative boosterism that marked the churches of the '20s but they understood how vital a

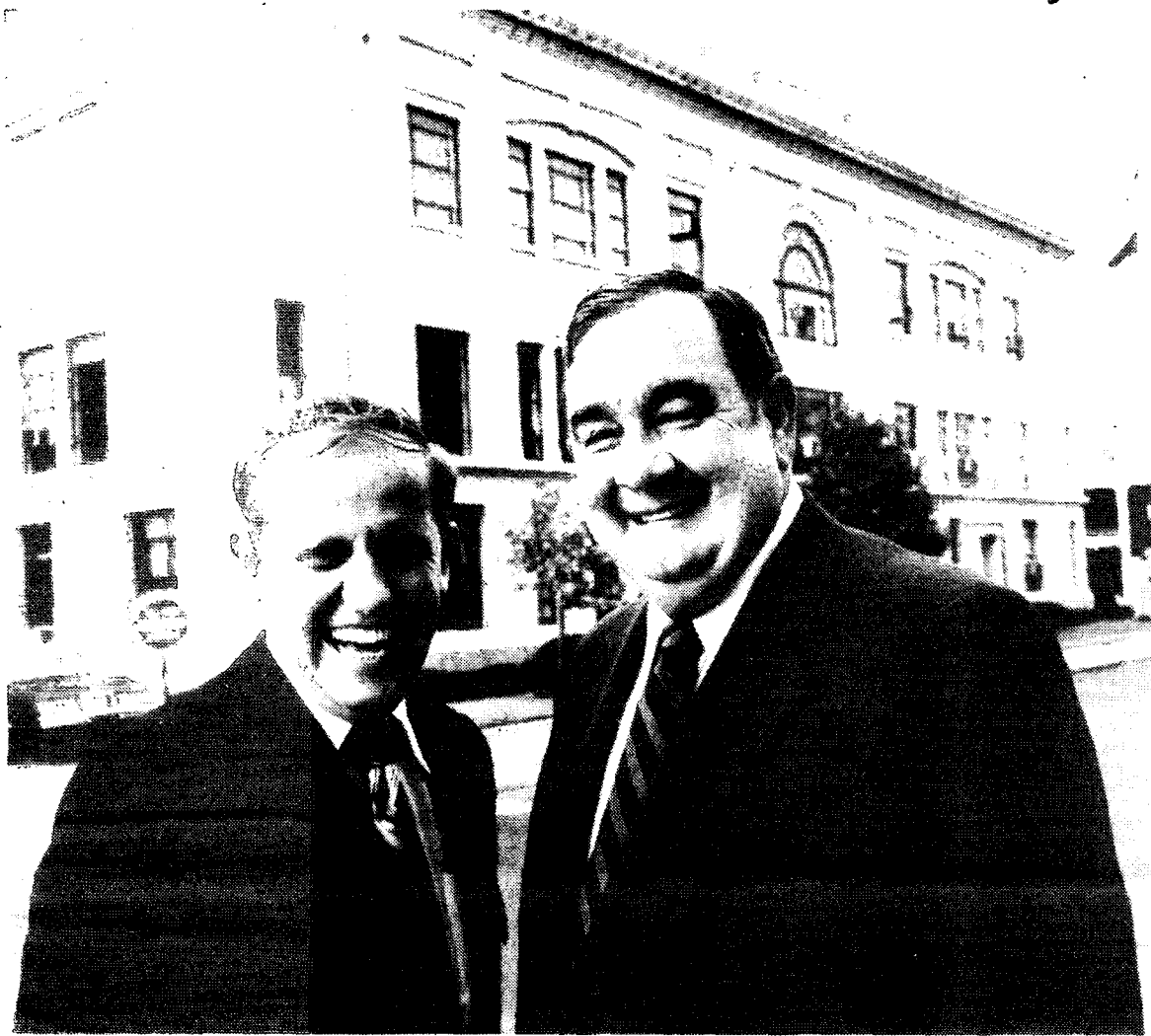
to smithereens. We come to understand that their calling these forces "devils" may not be a sign of weakness, of relying on the "crutch" of religion, but a sign of strength. They are determined to overcome the devils in themselves, and they know from experience that their own unassisted efforts to avoid the bottle, drugs or infidelity have been unavailing, and reasonably conclude that their battle can be won only with divine aid. The stakes are high: survival or dissolution. That is more than enough, in their view, to justify the leap of faith.

Zero-sum pizza.

Tom Cohen was also the director of the fourth episode in the ser-

merits of being mechanics, Marines, teachers or coaches instead of Shakey's employees. They wonder what they might have achieved had it not been for "the par-lor," as Les puts it in a sarcastic drawl. They want to strike out on their own—following their father's example—but they realize that his own campaign to make it depends on their direct support. It's a zero-sum game; only one of them can be his own

The Lynds focused on class in their 1929 study.



Elliot Ewry/Magnum

THE CAMPAIGN, unlike the other segments, looks straight at community relations.

But you'd never know most of these people live in Muncie.

force it was in community life. Leacock and Silver decided by contrast to study the role of religion in keeping a single family together. Their film reveals a great deal about the connection between fundamentalist religion and family psychology, but it tells us nothing about Muncie.

Its success as a film stems from the same technique used by Tom Cohen. The directors lead us so gradually into the depth of their subject that we are shocked when we finally realize how deeply immersed we are. In *The Campaign* we are subjected to long streams of political rhetoric and mistakenly conclude that we are watching a film about politics. About half-way through we discover we are looking straight at class, culture and society. In *Community of Praise* we are subjected to a steady barrage of religious rhetoric and wrongly judge that it is a film about fundamentalism.

As the drama unfolds we step further and further into a field of subterranean psychological forces that threaten to blow the family of Phil and Phyllis Tobey

ies, *Family Business*, and it proves that *The Campaign* was no fluke. *Family Business* is another magnificent piece of filmmaking, perhaps the most dramatically powerful of them all. It tells us little about the general experience of work in Muncie—that topic could only have been addressed by looking at a larger-scale workplace—but it speaks eloquently about the classic American dream of becoming one's own boss. Howie Snider, his wife and eight children run a Shakey's Pizza Parlor. Howie has invested all his savings, several loans, and his entire being into Shakey's. "I'm proud to be Mr. Shakey," he tells us. He enjoys walking down the street and being recognized. He feels that he's a respected member of the community.

But his six-year effort in independent entrepreneurship is threatened from within and without. Shakey's head office wants to close him down for delays in repaying loans. More serious still is the growing dissension among his adult and teenaged sons, who admire Howie's devotion but are beginning to question his judgment in sticking to the job.

Cohen allows their alienation to emerge one step at a time. We learn only gradually that Howie's co-workers are his sons, and it is some time before they express any dissatisfaction with their paternal employer. The sons take a drive on their day off and Les, the eldest, leads them in questioning their own and their father's future. They debate the

boss.

Family Business is a striking contribution to the study of contemporary culture because it forces us to rethink our often superficial assumptions about consumer society: That entrepreneurial opportunities no longer exist, that fast food chains are merely standardized, plastic intrusions on local communities, that consumers and workers in present-day America are passive recipients of goods and services designed only for profit, not for their enjoyment or fulfillment. Howie Snider does not just work at Shakey's; he and his family created this particular Shakey's. Howie and Les play banjo and guitar, patrons take up song sheets, an elderly woman hits the piano keys. People come from miles around to celebrate birthdays or anniversaries in neighborly *Gemutlichkeit*. On slow nights, however, Howie's despair peeks through. He is only squeaking by and may not survive. "Sometimes I think I should have gone into hamburgers," he muses.

The family dinner at the end of the film is a riveting segment. One wonders how Cohen managed to get it on camera. Howie has assembled his sons and daughters to announce another threat from Shakey's headquarters and to ask their advice about whether they should persevere. The children squirm as they are called upon to confront their father publicly as image and reality. The pressure is too great for 18-year-old Lloyd. He breaks

down telling his father that he no longer sees any pride in his face. He liked him better when he was a Marine. Howie's college-aged daughter offers to give up college to make the franchise work. She doesn't need a college degree, she confides, since all she wants is to get married and have babies. Les clears his throat and relieves himself of the message he has long wanted to convey: His father is deluding himself as Mr. Shakey and ought to quit.

Howie's concluding speech is the stuff of classical drama. He asks his children to suffer with him a little while longer. His self-respect, he tells them, depends upon being Mr. Shakey. If the parlor doesn't turn the corner soon he promises to take Les' advice. The film ends at the parlor with Mr. Shakey and Les joining in a mournful duet for the entertainment of a near-empty house.

The final episode of the Middletown series, *Second Time Around*, was the only one personally directed by Peter Davis, and it is the least satisfactory of the lot. It fails to relate the topic of remarriage to the broader life of the Muncie community. It even fails to draw us deeply into the personal sphere of David Shesler and Elaine Ingram. We learn almost nothing about how they met, what their prior lives were like, what communal networks each participates in, what work they have done. Elaine's two sons are occasionally spotted, but Davis quickly sweeps them off the stage so that she and David can continue their endless fretting about how they are going to afford a house. This episode was the one specifically devoted to the "family" in Middletown, yet it ironically tells us less about the family than any of the other four.

There are a few priceless moments. For instance, one tense conversation about their future life, David plays the part of the patient listener until Elaine crosses over the demilitarized zone: She proposes that he help with the cooking. "I am not going to cook," he erupts. When she gently asks why, he informs her sternly that "society" decides which things are for men, which for women. She sinks into withdrawn acquiescence. But those moments do not add up to a compelling film.

Second Time Around is in one sense the logical culmination of

the series. The community focus of *The Campaign* disappears in all but name from *The Big Game*, and is completely replaced by the family focus in *Community of Praise* and *Family Business*. In *Second Time Around* we have descended to the level of two individuals, each totally removed from the larger society, who are in search of a family. Their entire existence—naturally enough at this stage in their lives—is defined by their family dream. Yet David and Elaine stand as a metaphor for the typical Middletowners of the Davis team's vision: privatized atoms whose experience extends to the family's boundaries and no further. Only Tom Cohen managed to transcend the limits of that perspective.

Unlike the Lynds, the Davis group's main interest is not in Muncie, not in the character of community life in America, but in the American family. The Lynd's *Middletown* also put great stress on the family—especially on the growing privatization of family life, the decline of spontaneous neighborhood mixing on front porches or around parlor pianos. But they understood that even as families were withdrawing from their neighborhoods and also from civic participation in the 19th-century sense—family automobile trips had taken the place of Sunday afternoon club meetings or holiday parades—they were linked to the larger community by a complex web of agencies, institutions, beliefs and habits.

What gave *Middletown* so much power as a social analysis was the Lynds' forceful, understated dissent from the particular form they felt community integration was taking in Muncie in the '20s; boosterism, consumption, indoctrination by advertisers, ministers and teachers. One need not share their alienation from consumer culture to appreciate the importance of their community focus. The problem with Peter Davis' Middletown films is its near-total neglect of that wider social realm.

Richard Fox, a historian, is the author of "Epitaph for Middletown: Robert S. Lynd, Richard Fox, and the analysis of consumer culture," in Jackson Lears and Richard Fox, eds., *American Culture in the Age of Consumption* (forthcoming, Pantheon).

There's still time
to register for:

Progressive Planning Summer Program Cornell University

Courses in Planning:

June 7-25 and
June 28-July 16

Institutes: Plant Closings

June 10-12

Community
Economic
Development
Strategies
June 21-25

Lessons From
Progressives in
Office
June 24-25

Management
Training for
Community
Enterprises and
Democratically
Managed
Businesses
June 28-July 2

Land Trusts and
Land Use
Planning
July 5-9

Contact:

Sander Kelman,
Department of
City and
Regional Plan-
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University, 107
West Sibley
Ithaca, NY
14853,
(607) 256-6212

DISARMAMENT CALENDAR

MILWAUKEE, WI

May 31-June 16

Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival is sponsoring a Memorial Day peace service at 11 a.m. at Lakefront Art Center; June 12 rally for Jobs and Peace Referendum Campaign at 7:30 p.m., Central Methodist Church, 25th and Wisconsin; June 11, buses leave for UN Second Special Session on Disarmament; June 16, Marvin Kalkstein's course, Nuclear Weapons and World Politics, begins at Marquette U. (414) 272-0961 for information.

NEW YORK, NY

June 2, 3 & 12

New York City Disarmament Campaign June 2: Public Meeting 7:30, 135 W. 4th Street. June 3: San Francisco Mime Troupe, "Fact Wino Meets the Moral Majority." 8 p.m., Fashion Institute of Technology, 27th St. & 7th Ave. Tickets \$7. June 12: Volunteers needed to serve as Peacekeepers, Fundraisers, Medics. For information: (212) 460-8992.

June 4-6

Conference: "Social Scientists & Nuclear War." Speakers include Elise Boulding, Chair Dartmouth Sociology Dept., prominent feminist; Zhores Medvedev, USSR dissident; Robert Jay Lifton, Yale University; Egbal Ahmad. Registration Friday & Saturday, 8:30 a.m. CUNY Grad Center, 33 W. 42nd St. \$25 donation, \$10 students. Conference facilitators: Raymond Franklin (212) 790-4320, Howard Gruber (201) 648-5150.

June 4

"Disarmament: An Aid to Development?" Luncheon speech by Hon. Inga Thorsson, Sweden's Undersecretary State for Disarmament. Thorsson has been former chair of UN Disarmament & Development Study Group, member of Sweden's Parliament for 10 years, and chairperson of Sweden's disarmament delegation since 1973. \$12.00 per person, reservations required. Society for International Development, (212) 599-3363.

June 4

Open gathering to follow the close of an international women's conference sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom for the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament. Leading women speakers from around the world, entertainment, refreshments. Friday 7:30-9:30 p.m. Barnard College Gymnasium. Donation requested.

June 5-6

St. Mark's Disarmament Weekend—10th St. & 2nd Ave. Saturday: Poets for 6/12 Rally. Noon-poets & bands. Sunday: 10:30 a.m. Mass with 2 members Japanese United Nations Delegation. 2:00 p.m. International Teach-In. Arnold Braithwaite, U.S. Peace Council; Guido Grunewald, member Federal German Republic Peace Society; Serge Parmanoff, USSR 1st Secretary UN; John Benson, Australian Labor Party Executive Board. Martha Wilcox, musical entertainment.

June 5-6

Theatre for the New City's Festival for Nuclear Disarmament. 162 2nd Ave. Outside 2-8, music and street theatre. 3 p.m., Children's show. Theatre 8 p.m., works by Barbara Garson, John Michael Tebbik, Renny Charlip, Al Carmines, Irene Fornes, Leonard Melfi, Jean Claude van Italie, Stephen Holt and Helen Hanft. Cabaret, 10 p.m., Reservations & Info, (212) 254-1109, Scott Briefer.

June 7-July 9

Plowshares Coffee House, weekdays 10 a.m.-7 p.m., with occasional evening programming, 777 UN Plaza. Speeches, workshops, entertainment, informal discussion, refreshments, literature. Sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, (914) 358-4601. For more information contact Ann Headley, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

June 7-17

"Hibakusha: Stories from Hiroshima," a Modern Times Theater Production. "Set in Hiroshima, with a wide, vivid cast of characters, Hibakusha uses the strength of the stage with fresh, incisive power....a lesson in history and an affecting vision of our future." (IN THESE TIMES, 4/14/82) For times/places, call (212) 242-4517.

June 8-10

Reverence for Life: Assembly of Religious Denominations, Spiritual Communities & International Peace Organizations. International assembly of grassroots networks, peace organizations, religious & lay leadership. Speakers include Daniel Berrigan, Elise Boulding, Edward Bednar & Paul Mayer. \$25 donation. Pre-registration checks payable to Reverence for Life, include phone number, area interest, organizational/religious affiliation. 45 East 78th Street, NY, NY 10021. (212) 737-8872.

June 9

International Roundtable of Trade Unionists on Disarmament. Participants: David Livingston,

President District 65 United Auto Workers; Moe Foner, Executive Director District 1199, Cultural Center; Henry Dropkin, Vice President Amalgamated Textile and Clothing Workers Union; Mitsuo Tomizuka, General Secretary Sohyo (Japanese Federation of Labor); Torasori Kumamoto, Director Political Affairs Sohyo; Jacques Bosse, Secretary Metal Workers Federation of France. Moderator: Betty Lall, Director Cornell Labor Program (NYSSILR). 7:30 p.m. United Engineering Center, 1st Avenue at 47th Street.

June 9-11

Hope Against Hope: A Special Seminar on Disarmament. United Methodists from all over the city will attend this event. Participants will examine the arms race, intervention and the budget priorities of the Reagan administration as they reflect, study and plan for action. Sponsored by United Methodist Seminars. Registration required. (212) 682-3633.

June 10-July 11

People's Assembly: Five weeks of educational programs. 6/10-Opening Session & Reception, sponsored by World Citizens Assembly. 7 p.m., Plowshares Coffee House, 777 United Nations Plaza. 6/13-Awareness for Survival & Global Security, sponsored by UNESCO & others. 1:30, United Methodist Church, Park Ave. & 60th. 6/15 -Nuclear Arms Freeze, sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. 7 p.m., Plowshares Coffee House. 6/17-American Foreign Policy Evaluated, sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action. 7 p.m., Henry George School, 5 E. 44th St. For more information call (212) 289-3353.

June 12

Those interested in linking the struggles for disarmament, Polish workers and anti-intervention in El Salvador, come to a reception after the rally. Join Paul Robeson Jr., Darlene Cuccinello (Maryknoll missionary), Pete Camarata, Seymour Melman, Kim Moody, Dave McReynolds, Joanne Landy, Carl Feingold, Ernesto Jofre, Barbara Garson, Frank Brodhead, Bob Brenner, Tod Ensign, Gail Daneker and others from 5-9 p.m. at the Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th Street. Sponsored by the Solidarity Support Campaign. For further information or to make a contribution, write SSC, 301 W. 105th St., NYC 10025 or phone (212) 222-9703.

June 12

Rally for Disarmament—June 12th Coalition. Four march routes will converge on the rally site, 1st Ave. & 42nd St., from the following staging areas: 59th & 5th Ave.; 59th & Central Park West; 31st & 7th Ave.; Vanderbilt Ave. & 43rd. Speakers: To be announced. Entertainment: Jackson Browne, Holly Near, Linda Ronstadt, Pete Seeger and James Taylor. Seating for elderly & handicapped Dag Hammarskold Plaza, 47th & 1st Ave. For more information call (212) 460-8980.

June 14

Blockade the Bombmakers! Non-violent direct action at missions to the UN of the five nuclear powers (U.S., USSR, China, France and Great Britain). Non-violence training required. Civil Disobedience Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. (212) 777-4737.

July 5-16

International Institute for Peace Education. PUBLIC FORUM July 5—Major figures UN Disarmament Affairs & international peace educators. 9-4 Main Hall Teacher's College, Columbia University, \$25. INSTITUTE—for teachers, community college staff, activists, with international peace educators. \$440 credited/\$350 non-credited. Half-time available. Continuing Education, Box 132, Teacher's College, NY, NY 10027. (212) 678-3791.

PITTSBURGH, PA

June 5

Pittsburgh Peace Network, representing 45 groups in Western Pennsylvania, is sponsoring a march and rally. The march leaves the Federal Building at 11 a.m. Rally in Market Square at noon. Featured speaker is Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics, City College of New York. (412) 381-1400/1405 for information.

LOS ANGELES, CA

June 6

Peace Sunday—"We Have a Dream" 1:00 p.m., Rose Bowl, \$12.50. Historic coalition of religious, peace, antinuclear activists, people of all colors working together. Performers include Jackson Browne, Dan Fogelberg, Linda Ronstadt, Stevie Wonder & Jessie Colin Young. Speakers include Patti Davis, Rabbi Leonard Beerman, Michio Kaku, John Trudell. Tickets usual locations. (213) 466-4240.

WASHINGTON, DC

June 8

Poetry Allies: Poets for Nuclear Disarmament—

8 p.m., Free. Featuring 20 poets, Christ Church Auditorium, 620 G Street SE. (202) 347-4824. Sponsored by a large coalition of groups, including the D.C. Peace Center and Artists for Disarmament.

June 12

For bus information to the New York Rally call the D.C. Peace Center, (202) 234-2000.

BOSTON, MA

June 12

Get Me to the Demonstration on Time—Ride the Boston Peace Train to the UN Rally. It leaves South Station 6:30 a.m., with seats available \$36 round trip. Activities for passengers include guitar playing and singing, postermaking, informal discussion of world issues. Buses are also available. Reservations required from the Greater Boston June 12th Campaign, (617) 497-6754.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

June 12

Over 100 buses will depart for the UN rally at which stop the Nukes song contest winner will be introduced. Other events also organized to support rally by over 50 local peace, labor and religious groups of the June 12th Coalition, 2125 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215) 569-1974.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

June 12

March and Rally to support the UN Special Session on Disarmament is being organized in San Francisco on June 12. It will begin with an interfaith Witness for Peace at 9:45 a.m., Mission Dolores Basilica, and will continue with a march from Dolores Park to Civic Center where a rally will be held beginning at noon. For more information please call (415) 441-5014.

LIVERMORE, CA

June 21

Demonstration and blockade, Lawrence Liver-

more National Laboratory, where first-strike nuclear weapons are developed. Rally, Saturday, June 19 in Oakland. Non-violence training required for blockade. Contact: Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703, (415) 644-2028 or 644-3031.

LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE, NH

July 17-24

"The Human Race vs. the Arms Race: The Reality and the Alternatives" is the theme of the American Friends Service Committee's 1982 Avon Institute. Resource persons include: Margaret Burnham, Jerome Frank, Marta Daniels, Eugene Rivers, Stephen Cary, and Frances Crowe. Special presentation by John Kenneth Galbraith. Excellent children's program. Brochure from AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

July-September

At the Foot of the Mountain, a professional women's theater in Minneapolis, has a history of producing high-quality theater challenging the boundaries between art and social reflection. "Ashes, Ashes, We All Fall Down," their play about nuclear madness, is available for touring July-September, 1982, and April-May, 1983. Call Terri at (612) 375-9487 for further information.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

August 6-9

An international peace festival featuring discussions, seminars, classical, folk and rock music, theater, dance and film will be held. Young people from East and West Europe will attend and Americans are particularly invited. If you would like to perform a musical act connected with peace, send a cassette to Worthy Farm, Pilton, Shepton Mallet, Somerset BA4 4BY, England. For information on attending, contact Gerhard Grossing, Austrian National Union of Students, Liechtensteinstrasse 13, 1090 Wien, Austria.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO, IL

June 4

Meet Calvin Trillin, author of *Uncivil Liberties*. Friday from 5-7 p.m. at Guild Books' new location, 2456 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. We can also ship your autographed copy via UPS. Send \$10.95 plus \$1.75 postage and handling (add 50¢ p&h for each additional copy). Illinois residents add 7%.

June 17

Harry Britt, S.F. Supervisor, will speak on Urban Politics in the 1980s at the Good Shepherd Parish, 615 Wellington, at 7 p.m. A reception will follow at 9 p.m. Co-sponsored by the Democratic Socialists of America and the Illinois Gay and Lesbian Taskforce. For more info call (312) 871-7700 or (312) 975-0707.

BOSTON, MA

June 4

Come celebrate the NAM/DSOC merger and the formation of the Democratic Socialists of America/Boston local. Hear DSA chair Michael Harrington, the music of Fred Small, and join others in toasting the DSA. Also, political auction, cash bar, dancing, special guests. Boston College, McElroy Building, second floor, 8 p.m. Tickets \$5. Sponsored by DSOC of B.C.

June 5

"From Civil Rights, to Disarmament, to the Second American Revolution"—a Public Forum; main speaker, James MacFadden: organizer for the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955; black power activist during the '60s; presently national chairperson, National Organization for an American Revolution. 1:00 to 5:00 p.m. at the Union United Methodist Church, 485 Columbus Avenue, South End. \$2.00 donation. Families welcome. Sponsored by the Boston Branch NOAR.

NEW YORK, NY

June 8

Join Kurt Vonnegut, Michael Harrington, Eileen Egan, James Farmer, Moe Foner, Tom Glazer and Bobbie McGee from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. at the NYU Loeb Student Center Top-of-the-Park Terrace to mark the 20th Anniversary of the publication of *The Other America*. Sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism. Tickets: \$50 sponsors, \$25 regular, \$20 students and IDS Associates. All contributions are tax deductible. Send to IDS, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, NY, NY 10003, or call (212) 260-3270.

BERKSHIRES, NY

July 9-18

The Berkshire Forum presents a ten-day vacation seminar: "Making American Culture Work for Us," with Liz Mestres, Nora Sayre, Eric Perkins—one of a series of vacation workshops in a delightful mountain setting. Modern lodge. Tennis. Spring-fed swimming pond. Write, call Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

June 12 & 13

Labor Festival. Concert-comedy-film Saturday night June 12. 7 p.m., Willmar 8; 8 p.m. Solidarity Singers and others, comedienne Carol Roberts; 10 p.m. party. \$1.50 for the evening. Conference Sunday June 13, 1-5 p.m. Building a Labor Culture for the 1980s. Speakers: Stanley Aronowitz, Gwenn Craig, Dave Jenkins, Joan Braconi, Walter Johnson, Maya Luckmann, Denise Gums, Valerie Miner, Herb Mills. Workshops: Writing, photography, history, film, video, education, bringing up children, minority-ethnic, lesbian-gay and feminists. \$2.00 at the SEIU Building, 240 Golden Gate Ave. (Civic Center area). (415) 824-7378.

NORTHAMPTON, MA

June 21-July 2

"Reconstructing a Left Public Sphere: Culture and Politics." Conference with Stanley Aronowitz, Carl Boggs, Jean Franco, Fred Jameson, Joan Landes, Manning Marable, Steve Resnick, Maria Shevtsova, Mick Taussig, Cornel West, Rick Wolff, etc. Sponsors: *Social Text*, New Political Science Caucus, Marxist Literary Group. Sessions/lodging, Smith College campus, Northampton, MA. Register/information c/o Doris Sommer, Amherst College, Amherst 01002, (413) 542-2396.

ITHACA, NY

June 25-27

Northeast Planners' Network Conference at Cornell University. Panels and workshops on Enterprise Zones, Community Economic Development, housing and tenants movements, full employment planning, health planning and rural planning. Prospective speakers include Bert Gross, Chester Hartman, Derek Shearer and Bernie Sanders. Registration: \$17.50. For details contact Paula Ford, 307 Hudson Ave., Albany, NY 12210.

Shelter

Continued from page 24

partment of Public Safety who have visited 120 shelters since January—the city has over 1,000—say they are more familiar with the bowels of Chicago than anyone around. At some sites, the inspectors find people who don't even know they are living or working over a fallout shelter; at others, they bring news of the end of an era. In the basement of the St. Jude League on West Madison St., designated 20 years ago to hold 120 survivors, the water supply was still being kept up this spring.

Now we are entering a new era of civil defense. President Reagan wants to spend \$4.2 billion over the next seven years, much of it on a strategy called "crisis relocation planning"—evacuating people out of high-risk target areas into safer rural "host" areas. It comes down to

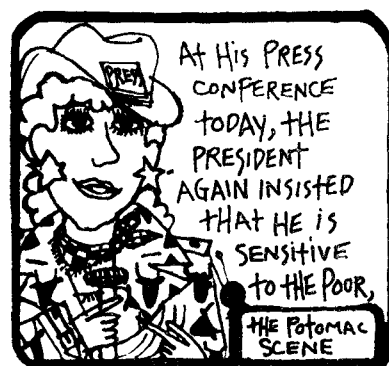
running rather than hiding, although fallout shelters are a part of this plan, too. Only this time they would be located mainly in the host areas.

Louis Giuffrida, the head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), told Congress in March, "Our goal is to have sufficient fallout shelters planned so that every American would have access to one in an emergency." That is, every American who makes it out of the high-risk areas alive.

Officials at FEMA's regional office in Manhattan, which covers New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, say only three relocation plans are finished now—those for Plattsburgh, Utica and Rome, N.Y. The office still has 78 plans to do, including New York City's. FEMA regional director Frank Petrone advises New Yorkers: "If the bomb hits today, pray."

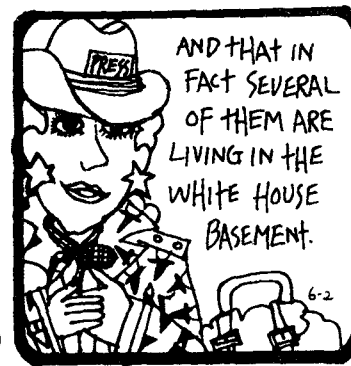
Would the relocation of millions of people even work? A study done in 1978 said 11 million people could be moved out

Sylvia



of the New York City area in four days, using cars, trains, planes, trucks, buses and even the Staten Island Ferry. Order of departure would be based on a combination of zip codes, license plates and birth dates.

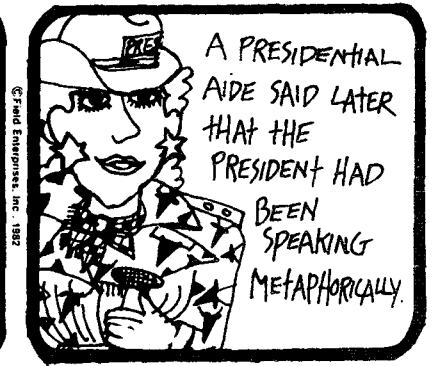
But upbeat predictions are overshadowed by the dire predictions of what would be left after a full-scale nuclear attack. One analyst who completed a study of the effects of nuclear war for the congressional Office of Technology Assessment says the foundation of a real crisis



relocation program is that you write off cities like New York and Los Angeles because there are just too many people to get out in time.

Nevertheless, if you're an optimist, you can still build your own fallout shelter. Paul Zaloom, an actor who does a one-man comedy routine on civil defense at Theatre for the New City in New York, sent away for architectural plans that FEMA provides free. "They sent me eight or ten designs," Zaloom said, "like the one for the dual

by Nicole Hollander



purpose snack bar-shelter. It takes 4,230 bricks."

If you're a pessimist, you'll appreciate the latest civil defense joke the *Washington Post* reports circulating around Moscow, where plans include evacuating 8 million people in 3-7 days on foot. When you hear the sirens, the joke goes, "you should wrap yourself in a white sheet and head toward the cemetery."

Mary Ellen Schoonmaker writes frequently for *In These Times*.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

OFF OUR BACKS—Radical Feminist newspaper. National/international news, analysis, reviews, health, prisons; \$8 per year, 11 issues. Free sample copy. Off our backs, Dept. TT, 1841 Columbia Rd., Room 212, Washington, DC 20009.

PEACEMAKING HANDBOOK for Organizers in the Religious Community. \$3.00 each. 10/\$20, 50/\$50. Covenant Peacemaking Program, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

HELP WANTED

ORGANIZERS—Educational advocacy group seeks individuals to work with students at university level. Excellent writing and speaking skills; travel 40 hours-plus work-week. Send resume and three references to: Ed Rothstein, SASU, 41 State St., Suite 505, Albany, NY 12207.

FEMINIST PHYSICIAN (ob/gyn or FP) for women's health center. Good working conditions/salary. Reasonable workload in well-woman/problem gyn, birthing, abortion, community education. Special Health Center interests include cervical caps, endometriosis, PMS, feminist psychotherapy, lay healthcare. Excellent city, beautiful state. Contact Fran Kaplan, Director, Bread & Roses Women's Health Center, 238 W. Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI 53203, (414) 278-0260.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—Rogers Park Tenants Committee. Duties include developing and organizing strategy and programs; grant writing and grassroots fundraising; supervision of staff and volunteers. 2-3 years community organizing experience (administrative background important); \$14,000 with periodic review. Resume to: RPTC, 1545 W. Morse Ave., Chicago, IL 60626, (312) 973-7888.



We are currently offering *Northern Lights* and *The War at Home* at a 10% discount. Excellent for organizing, classrooms, fundraisers, workshops, rallies, etc. Cassette or 16 mm. Rent or purchase. Also distributing: *The Fear that Binds Us: Violence Against Women and The Case of the Legless Veteran*. New Front Films, 1409 Willow Street, Minneapolis, MN 55403 (612) 872-0805

UNION ORGANIZER—positions in 4 cities. Challenging work, long hours, low pay. Will train. (617) 266-7103.

BATTERED WOMEN'S Project seeks experienced administrative director/fundraiser. Box 327, Ansonia, CT 06401.

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BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS Custom-printed (union shop). Lowest movement prices for 20 years! Largest variety anti-nuclear and other fund-raising items in stock. Free catalog...call (516) 791-7929. Larry Fox, Box M-8, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

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Positive proof Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Scholarly booklet, \$3—Vector, Box 6215-F, Bellevue, WA 98007.

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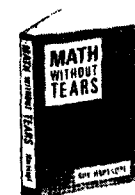
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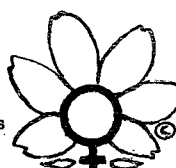
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SHELTER

By Mary Ellen Schoonmaker

NEW YORK

Always the big spender, Nelson Rockefeller built a \$3.5 million bomb shelter under the state office buildings in Albany when he was governor of New York. A big believer in civil defense, he proposed legislation in the late '50s that would have required every homeowner in the state to build a fallout shelter, and he came to Manhattan and sat in a mock shelter in the window of a bank as a publicity stunt.

Rockefeller's ambitious legislation never passed, but by the early '60s, New York City had more than 8,000 public fallout shelters in its five boroughs, and almost 4,000 in Manhattan alone. They were marked with black and yellow signs and stocked with \$30 million worth of protein crackers, wrapped in wax paper and stored in tins. A dozen of the crackers three times a day would provide 750 calories, the minimum nutritional ration needed to survive underground for two weeks. For dessert, red and yellow carbohydrate candies were also stocked, along with water drums, medicine and sanitation kits, chemical toilet paper and Geiger counters to measure when it would be safe to come out.

During the Cold War, the shelters gave a false sense of security to anxious New Yorkers who saw ground zero every time they looked up at the Empire State building, surely the most popular target in the U.S., at least in many of the studies on the effects of a nuclear blast. Those studies eventually showed that fallout shelters within 20 miles of a target area cannot protect their occupants from the blast or the ensuing fire and intense radiation. A one-megaton bomb would gut or flatten almost every building between Battery Park and 125th Street, and anyone underground would be asphyxiated or cremated.

"Shelters were idiotic in point of fact," says Dr. H. Jack Geiger, a professor of community medicine at City College of New York and a spokesperson for Physicians for Social Responsibility. "They were simplistic and foolish. Nobody was talking about blast and heat then. I remember Edward Teller saying radiation stirring up the genes was good for you."

In time, skepticism and apathy ended the shelter craze, and in the mid-'70s New York and other cities began quietly destocking their public shelters, first removing the phenobarbital that was attracting looters to the basements of office buildings and hotels and grimy warehouses. Sirens were disconnected; New York turned its system off five years ago. Many of the yellow and black shelter signs fell down, and some of the buildings were sold or demolished or burned down.

New York City officials learned a few years ago that the crackers in the shelters were so rancid that anyone who ate them would contract a mild form of dysentery. The city advertised for a destocker

and received only one response, from an upstate farmer who ground up what crackers he could find for pig feed.

Around the same time, Lt. Robert Hogan, then head of the Police Department's Office of Civil Preparedness, took a writer on a tour of the shelters. Larry Collins was researching *The Fifth Horseman*, the bestselling novel he wrote with Dominique Lapierre, in which Col. Muammar Qaddafi tries to blackmail Washington with a three-megaton bomb planted somewhere in Greenwich Village. Collins wondered whether the shelters would be of any use to a panicked city. But the one he and Hogan saw indicated just how much the program had been written off. A large shelter in the basement of a transient hotel, for instance, was overrun with rats and junkies. Some others could not even be found.

Lt. Hogan's successor, Inspector Robert Littlejohn, couldn't name the

location of one shelter other than the basement of 60 Centre St., where about 100 City Hall officials would go, at least on paper, to continue running the city in the event of an attack. As for the other shelters, Littlejohn said, "they're totally useless."

The spokesman for the Department of General Services (which is in charge of destocking the shelters), Stuart Fischer, said he didn't know where any of the shelters were either. But he said a company in White Plains, N.Y., has the current destocking contract, although he didn't have a telephone number for the firm and it wasn't listed in the phone book.

Asked what New Yorkers could do in case of a sudden nuclear attack, Fischer said, "What could people possibly do on an island? Everybody would be stuck here. They might go into the subways, but the tunnels would collapse."

Anyone who made it across the Hudson River to New Jersey would be no better off. Counties in the northern part of the state maintain lists of shelters, but officials

readily admit that the sites include inner-city buildings that are now empty lots and suburban chain stores that have gone out of business.

Most of the shelters have been destocked, one way or another. In one plant, the night shift raided the carbohydrate candy until there was none left. In the basement of a seminary in Mahwah, N.J., there are still 250 cartons of biscuit tins, but the maintenance man says he has not been contacted about them in 15 years. The largest shelter in northeastern New Jersey, located in the huge Nabisco plant in Fair Lawn, has room for 13,000 people. But it was never stocked with food because the plant upstairs bakes Oreos, Fig Newtons and Animal Crackers, which would presumably become postattack fare. Dieting survivors would be out of luck, and nobody considered what would be left to eat if the plant were blown away.

In Philadelphia, the city's 2,500 shelters have been destocked for years, but that doesn't mean the shelter program is dead, said a spokesman for the Office of Emergency Preparedness there. "Many are still marked," he said, "and we maintain a list of where they are. But they're not stocked with provisions, and that would be a drawback, for sure."

Chicago is doing destocking now, and the inspectors from the De-

Continued on page 23

Fallout shelters gave us

nowhere to hide. Now there's nowhere to run.



Illustration by Jack Brown